A Formal and Stylistic Analysis of the Early Films of F.W. Murnau within the Context of Swedish and German Cinema

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Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht einzelne Aussagen in publizierten Kritiken und wissenschaftlichen Betrachtungen der frühen Filme von F.W. Murnau zwischen 1919 und 1923, das heißt Filme, die vor jener besser bekannten Schaffensphase entstanden sind, die sich vornehmlich durch Studioaufnahmen auszeichnet und mit *Der letzte Mann* eingeleitet worden ist. Die Mehrheit dieser frühen Filme besticht durch den intensiven Einsatz von Außen- und Landschaftsaufnahmen und wird in der Kritik vornehmlich mit schwedischen Stummfilmen der Zeit zwischen 1910 und den frühen zwanziger Jahren in Verbindung gebracht. Trotz unverkennbarer Ähnlichkeiten mit deutschen Filmen, die später in Berlin gedreht wurden, diskutiert die kritische Literatur durchaus Murnaus Vorlieben für das schwedische Kino, ebenso die Tatsache, daß seine Filme engere stilistische Verbindungen zu schwedischen als zu deutschen Filmen aufweisen. Die vorliegende Untersuchung führt eine Analyse durch, die notwendiger Weise auf den historischen Kontext gerichtet ist und die verschiedenen national- und zeitgeschichtlich geprägten Stile einbezieht. Anhand eines Korpus ausgewählter Filme wird durch eine systematische Analyse der stilistischen Elemente und formalen Struktur eine kritische Bewertung der Gemeinsamkeiten hinsichtlich Expressivität, innovativen technischen Wissens, künstlerischer Absicht und Zielerreichung vorgenommen. Die Intention der Studie ist dabei nicht nur auf Fragestellungen bezüglich individuellem und nationalem Filmstil und damit auf das Konzept kultureller Normen gerichtet, sondern setzt diese Stile darüber hinaus in einen interkulturellen Kontext.

Abstract

This investigation seeks to examine certain affirmations in published criticism and scholarship concerning the early films of F. W. Murnau made between 1919 and 1923, prior to the studio-bound phase introduced with his *Der letzte Mann*. The majority of these early films exhibit a significant use of filmed exteriors and rural landscape, and are purported to display affinities with Swedish silent films of the 1910s and early 1920s. It is contended in the critical literature that Murnau's shared predilections with Swedish cinema exist in lieu of similarities to the German films then being made in Berlin, and that stylistically Murnau's films exhibit closer ties to Swedish cinema than to German film. This line of inquiry necessarily involves analysis placed within a historical context, with attention given to differing national and temporal styles. In evaluating assertions of affinity as to shared stylistic expressivity, innovative technical expertise, and artistic purpose and achievement, a systematic analysis of stylistic elements and formal structure is undertaken in the corpus of films chosen. This study, therefore, addresses not only the issues of both individual and national film style, and therefore the concept of cultural norms, but additionally places these styles within a cross-cultural context.

A Formal and Stylistic Analysis of the Early Films of F.W. Murnau within the Context of Swedish and German Cinema

1. Introduction

During the past thirty years, film historical research has undergone tremendous changes. The surveys of world cinema by a single author which passed for film history as late as the 1960s[1] are now, after numerous theoretical changes, being replaced by the antithesis; scholars are much more cognisant of the conditions under which art is created, which has resulted in limited, more detailed historical accounts. An attempt to write a comprehensive survey of the cinema entails knowledge of technology, economic history, social history, and historical reception, an awareness evidenced in the increased reluctance amongst scholars to undertake broad-based research.[2] One aspect of recent silent film studies is the growing interest in previously ignored commercial films. This field of study can serve to be instructive in a number of ways, amongst which is a better understanding of the normative practices of a period. This, in turn, can serve to redress the balance by recasting the so-called 'masterpieces' within the proper context. In addition, newly discovered films can be properly classified and attributed within an established framework.[3]

Given the current involvement with undiscovered films and previously unknown filmmakers, why the choice of F.W. Murnau as a subject of study? There is a paradox surrounding him in that although he is considered to be an eclectic filmmaker of uniquely personal artistic vision, long since elevated to the status of one of the cinema's most brilliant filmmakers, he and his films have been the object of relatively little recent scholarly work.[4] The films which have received most attention are *Der letzte Mann, Faust,* and *Sunrise*, the latter receiving such accolades as 'the best film ever made' by *Cahiers du cinéma. Nosferatu. Eine Symphonie des Grauens* has also received attention, most notably since the release in 1979 of Werner Herzog's homage, *Nosferatu. Phantom der Nacht.* In addition, Murnau's *Nosferatu* has inevitably appeared in horror genre studies as a precursor to the

numerous Dracula films. The retrospective of Murnau and his films at the Berlin Film Museum in 2003 and its accompanying volume *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau: Ein Melancholiker des Films* certainly have again focussed attention on Murnau, providing scholars with a succinct look at Murnau's life and work in Germany, the United States, and Tahiti.[5] The book brings together plot synopses and filmographic data, familiar contemporary reviews which have long been readily available, and recent essays of varying quality which are often culturally rather than textually oriented. The film analyses and essays tend to be inclined towards the various authors' personal impressions, often expressed in vague, intangible, and ethereal terms as well as containing abundant, at times anecdotal, commentary surrounding Murnau's private life. However, with the exception of Rohmer's analysis of filmic space in *L'Organisation de l'espace dans le Faust de Murnau* (1977), Murnau's work has received little of the detailed stylistic and textual analysis found in studies of Fritz Lang, Carl Theodor Dreyer, and Victor Sjöström.[6] Indeed, had Murnau *not* directed the above-mentioned 'masterpieces', there is a strong probability that his earlier films, as the products of a therefore marginal filmmaker, would have thus far received little or no attention. These films have much to offer investigators, which confirms the vital importance of current research dealing with forgotten or ignored films in forming the various pieces of film history.

This study seeks not only to provide a detailed formal and stylistic analysis of Murnau's early work in relation to that of Swedish silent film, but in a historically comparative analysis such as this, the following topical issues are addressed: formal and stylistic patterns and devices in two countries in different historical periods, the changes in technology during these periods, differing modes of production, questions of national cinemas and varying cultures, distribution and influence between European countries, and the largely ignored early work of a so-called 'genius' *auteur* director. The above issues are amongst the most

prevalent being conducted in current scholarly research. How these various problems gradually developed into issues pertinent to current film historical study is outlined below.

1.1 Film Historiography

The history of film, and in particular the history of silent film, is currently in the early 21st century one of the most promising lines of investigation. The increasing interest in silent film research can be evidenced by two annual Italian festivals, Il Cinema Ritrovato in Bologna, and most important, Le Giornate del Cinema Muto in Pordenone/Sacile. These festivals serve not only as a forum for the exhibition of new archival restorations and rarely viewed films, but equally significant, they provide an international meeting place for researchers and scholars, thus increasing dialogue and the exchange of ideas.

Film History, as a relatively young discipline, began to establish itself as a field of academic study in the 1960s, primarily at universities in the United States. Methodological approaches were borrowed and adapted primarily from art historical and literary scholarship. Art historical methodologies have been used in studying the visual aspects of film, and literary research and criticism have contributed to understanding of narrative form. Both could be used in instances in which the narrative is driven by visual elements. As was reflected in the tenor of the times in the humanities in the 1970s, film scholarship increasingly focused on ideological and economic issues. These addressed socio-economic situations, and semiotics played a primary role as researchers concerned themselves with signifying practices and the ways in which filmic tests produce meaning. These aspects of film scholarship continued steadily through the 1980s, at which time the Marxist, feminist, and psychoanalytic theorists who had essentially abandoned the filmic texts began to realise the need for a return to film history and closer textual analysis. 'The result [of ignoring the filmic

texts] was an *a priori*, "top-down" commentary on film history, whereby theoretical conclusions came to be illustrated by colorful historical examples.'[7] This was to prove unsatisfactory to many film historians, and is perhaps one of the reasons for the assiduousness displayed in subsequent film historical scholarship.

The diligence and exactitude demanded by recent film researchers is evidence of long-overdue detailed analysis, and can be seen not only as a reaction to film theorists, but additionally to the single-author comprehensive surveys of world cinema which comprised film historical writing from the 1920s to the 1960s. In the 1970s, revisionist film historians began to realise the pressing need for greater detailed analysis, and thus researchers began to specialise, narrowing their focus and limiting the scope of inquiry to a smaller number of issues, such as a singular aspect of style, film exhibition, or the economic factors dealing with a particular national cinema. The concept of film history as being comprised of a chronological series of 'masterpieces' was also challenged, as widening access to both films and documents provided a more complete understanding of narrower issues. Naturally, very detailed research of this kind must be seen to fit within a larger scheme, and with an increasing number of specialised researchers sharing and exchanging knowledge, this continuing revision and reassessment provides a more historically sound framework from which to proceed further.

The New Film History

In the mid-1980s, a reassessment of current film history practices emerged amongst film scholars as to the long-accepted manner of understanding silent film. Chronological lists of 'genius' directors credited as being single-handedly influential in changing stylistic patterns and technological usage had been the accepted method of writing about film history. In their book *Film History: Theory and Practice*, Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery stress the importance of

considering sources other than the films themselves.[8] They propose the consideration of new approaches which, as Thomas Elsaesser states, emphasise 'the relevance of evidence disregarded by traditional film histories: business papers, court records, city ordinances and fire regulations, urban transport policy and demographic data of all kinds.'[9] This has received some criticism in that, as with film theory, the actual filmic texts are considered subordinate to other factors. There is, however, unquestionable agreement amongst researchers that the verification of historical data and sources advocated by Allen and Gomery is a crucial component of any investigation. After a proliferation of published articles concerning ideological issues and socio-economic conditions, as well as numerous aspects of film production, there has been within the last few years an increasing shift back towards the filmic texts themselves. Revisionist film historians have returned to textual studies, but this time with extremely precise formal and stylistic analyses. As more and more films have become available to researchers due to increased archival efforts in restoration and preservation, revisions have had to be made as researchers view a wider range of films, and not only the accepted canon of masterpieces.

What has emerged from the above-mentioned debates is an increasing awareness in the academic community of the need for an acceptance of not *one* film history, but rather a number of different ways of interpreting film history. The history of film style is one of the most rewarding fields of current research, which along with economic film history, cultural film history, film reception history, and others, serves to increase understanding of the complex historical framework which encompasses current knowledge of cinema.

1.2 The Concept of Authorship

In referring to the authorship of a film, there are differing views as to where the responsibility lies. In an industry such as Hollywood, the

view that the director might be the author of a film is more problematic than in other national cinemas, but even in Hollywood the director is generally considered to be the author; that is, he or she is responsible for the primary choices, exercising control over all or most of the stages of production. In the European cinema, authorship of a film belongs more clearly to the director, who is generally considered to have control over nearly every aspect of creation. As the editor of the collection of essays in *Cinema: A Critical Dictionary. The Major Film-makers*, Richard Roud points out that even in cases where authorship might be disputed, 'as a tool for understanding cinema, the hypothesis that the director is the most important figure has proved itself the most useful one.'[10]

This celebration of the director as artist was brought to the fore by writers of the magazine *Cahiers du cinéma* who championed *La politique des auteurs* in the 1950s to identify certain directors' individual artistic styles. Quite simply, an *auteur* was a director who could convey his artistic temperament through the film medium, and 'was to be considered as fully an artist as any of the great novelists, painters or poets.'[11] The French writers, and Andrew Sarris's *auteur theory* which followed in 1968, defended the concept of the director as individual solitary genius whose 'masterpieces' were given prominence in film history. As a reaction to the assumption of director as author, some critics have proposed the idea of 'author' as a critical construct signifying 'a system of relations among several films bearing the same signature.'[12] Films could be considered in groups and analysed in relation to each other. A group could consist of the body of work of a particular director, or a certain scriptwriter, or a cinematographer, and could then be comparatively analysed for signs of a particular author's signature.

A useful concept of authorship for the present study is that of the author being considered both the director himself and his biographical legend. In his discussion of Carl Th. Dreyer, David Bordwell draws on Boris Tomashevsky's definition of 'biographical legend' as consisting of a

director's production practices and his declarations on film aesthetics.[13] Other forces ranging from scholarship to press reviews continually alter how the legend is defined. This is a concept similar to that which Thomas Elsaesser refers to as the 'historical imaginary' in his discourse on Weimar cinema; historians are already fated to 'know' the films and how to experience them, therefore making it difficult to ignore the fact that film history is necessarily the metaphoric double of another history.[14] Murnau's historical status, therefore, would be his films and the 'Murnauian', i.e., the expectations created by the director with which his films are viewed. Of additional interest in this study is the extent to which Murnau's films either comply with or deviate from his biographical legend.

1.3 The Research Problem

This dissertation seeks to investigate certain affirmations in published criticism and scholarship concerning the early films of F.W. Murnau made between 1919 and 1923, prior to the studio-bound phase introduced with his *Der letzte Mann*. The majority of these early films exhibit a significant use of filmed exteriors and rural landscape, and are purported to display affinities with Swedish silent films of the 1910s and early 1920s. This study, therefore, addresses not only the issues of both individual and national film style, and therefore the concept of cultural norms, but additionally places these styles within a cross-cultural context.

The corresponding time periods under investigation for Murnau's early films and the Swedish silent cinema overlap slightly, but an important aspect of this study is that the assertions place Murnau's early film style as incongruent with the pervasive style of films being produced contemporaneously at Ufa; they are seen to be formally, stylistically, and thematically similar to the Swedish films produced slightly earlier at Svenska Bio and Hasselbladfilm, and concurrently at Skandiafilm. It is therefore contended that these affinities exist in lieu of

similarities to the German films then being made in Berlin, and that stylistically his films exhibit closer ties to Swedish films than to German film. The stylistic and narrative systems of the films, their pervasiveness, and the forms that they take are identified, analysed, and compared.

The Position of Research Surrounding F.W. Murnau

As has been mentioned above, there is a paradox surrounding Murnau. On the one hand, he has continually been considered to be one of the most gifted directors to use film as a medium for artistic expression, and on the other hand, he has so rarely been the subject of erudite analysis. This could be explained by the fact that Murnau's *oeuvre* does not conform to any set pattern, either thematically or stylistically. Apart from his final film, *Tabu*, which was based on an original idea written in collaboration with Robert Flaherty, Murnau's films were drawn from a vast range of sources, from serialised melodramatic stories in weekly magazines to Molière's *Tartuffe* and Goethe's *Faust*. In adapting these as a cinematic work, each film was conceived as a unified whole stylistically, but the films individually vary quite markedly from one another. It is generally recognised, however, that this greater stylistic range took place after Murnau 'found his style', commonly considered to be his use of the 'entfesselte Kamera' in *Der letzte Mann*. Mention is often made of Murnau's comment in the late 1920s that he found his early films to be substandard and insignificant.[15] It is precisely *that* body of films which is the subject of this investigation. It is hoped that this research will broaden knowledge about his early sensibilities, and put the praised canon of films directed by Murnau into greater perspective.

Amongst contributors to current knowledge about Murnau and his films, the art historian Lotte Eisner must be mentioned first and foremost. Her invaluable books *The Haunted Screen* and *Murnau* have been an essential starting point from which more recent studies have

sprung. Siegfried Kracauer's polemical *From Caligari to Hitler* is considered to be an earlier, important look at the history of film during the Weimar Republic and contains numerous references to Murnau and his films. Luciano Berriatúa's two-volume *Los proverbios chinos de F.W. Murnau* deserves particular mention for Berriatúa's thorough scholarship, with an emphasis on the correlation between compositions in Murnau's films and those in paintings. These authors and other contributors are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, which offers an examination of Murnau's style and narrative form as analysed by film critics and scholars, as well as by the present author.

1.4 Research Approach and Method of Investigation

In seeking to understand the representation of form and style, the writings of both Thomas Elsaesser and David Bordwell have provided illuminating examples of possible approaches in the consideration of silent films. The approach to stylistic analysis as put forth by Bordwell, which draws from the writings of E.H. Gombrich[16], is seen to be a sound, flexible method, and is the approach chosen for this investigation.

This approach uses a system of problem/solution; that is, a determination is made as to the devices chosen by the filmmaker in response to the set of problems which arose during the process of filmmaking. These problems include such diverse aspects as choices in narrative form, editing, cinematography, and mise en scène, which encompasses factors such as setting, lighting, costume, figure behaviour, and spatial articulation. The specific devices chosen by the filmmaker are identified by purpose and salient, perhaps repetitive, use. An appropriate aspect of this approach is that it is flexible enough to allow for the fact that various solutions could exist simultaneously. In retrospect, some devices might appear more 'advanced' than others, but the approach employed here serves to stifle the tendency to look for linear progression in search of an ideal form.

Important to this inquiry then becomes the determination of what function these devices serve in the film. Indeed, the function of a stylistic device might change during the course of the film, or from film to film. Function in this study is analysed historically, that is, the way in which the devices would have been understood by a contemporary audience. Keeping in mind Gombrich's statements concerning 'intention of the artist'[17], in which he cautions that 'the unexpected' can inevitably occur, possibly breeding either fear or welcome discovery, supposition as to filmmakers' intentions is kept to a minimum in this study. However, written statements and pronouncements which articulate the artistic theories held by the filmmakers are considered of great importance in understanding their motivation in making certain choices during the creation of the film.

In a comparative historical analysis such as this, the prior establishment of stylistic and technical norms is deemed important. By establishing norm-based models for both the Swedish cinema of the 1910s and the German cinema of the early 1920s, the artistic milieu and technological alternatives available to the filmmakers can be better understood as a pool from which they were able to make formal and stylistic choices. Questions arise as to the criteria which govern the selection of normative practices which serve to identify an entire national cinema, particularly one as diverse as the corpus of German films during the years 1919-1923. In addition, as the research problem investigates various writers' claims as to Murnau's affinities with the Swedish cinema, not only must a normative Swedish 'style' be established, but also of importance is an analysis of these writers' *concept* of what comprises Swedish film, and with this, potential mythologising. These issues, as well as the basic acceptance of the 'national cinema' as a useful concept, are addressed in more detail in Chapter 2.

As a way of establishing a norm-based model, Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker propose a broad range of factors which aid in

determining the parameters which are available to a director or studio at a certain time and in a certain country.[18] By acknowledging the role played by social, economic, and technical factors, Elsaesser and Barker suggest that recognisable modes can be established, which provide 'stable criteria for basic historical research'. Once the various stylistic devices within the films are identified, they can then be compared with stable periodic and national norms in order to determine periodization and specific individual or national formal and stylistic traits.

Therefore, in order to identify salient stylistic aspects of Murnau's work, his films are contrasted with contemporary German films rather than the classical Hollywood paradigm which has become the most commonly used model for comparison in recent years. The Hollywood paradigm of quick editing, shallow staging, and seamless continuity is the preferred model of Bordwell and Thompson, who propose using the Hollywood 'classical' style as a standard gauge, or 'background set'[19] against which to judge European films of the same era. Useful as it may be in studying films of the 1930s and later, it is agreed that in the late 1910s, the Hollywood 'style' had not yet become the dominant system that it was to become later. Pervasive and popular as the Hollywood classical style has been in establishing itself worldwide, it is considered by the present author to be not a naturally inherent form of cinematic discourse, but rather a historically established set of conventions.

As both German and Swedish cinemas have also acquired historically established sets of conventions, analysis of the normative practices found in these two national cinemas is considered more appropriate for the following reasons: firstly, although most scholars currently agree that the Hollywood style of classical continuity had solidified by 1917, it was not until the late 1920s that this conception of the narrative film dominated most of the world. As the films examined in this study precede that date, it is considered more instructive to examine Murnau's films in relation to the German films under production at the same time. Secondly, greater understanding of the

aesthetics and production practices with which Murnau worked can be achieved through a comparative examination with those films produced within the same industrial system, among them, the Decla-Bioscop branch of Ufa studios in Berlin.[20]

Finally, in using the classical paradigm as a criterion against which non-classical films are measured, certain scholars have allowed themselves the use of terminology such as 'primitive' or 'retarded' to characterise those films which favour longer takes and spatial integrity rather than attributes such as scene dissection, which point towards classical continuity. While this could be seen solely as a way of categorising films with various characteristics, certain film scholars such as Barry Salt extend these terms to mean that films exhibiting non-classical traits were created by filmmakers who had not yet learned the 'proper' techniques of filmmaking, i.e., the classical Hollywood style. As a validation of what is 'proper', he points to worldwide audience preference for Hollywood films.[21] This not only suggests an evolutionary view of film history as a continuous striving towards some ideal, but also places a value judgement on a particular film, a practice which Gombrich seeks to discourage.[22] A closer view of the stylistic traits of the classical style and its comparison with European films can be found in the discussion of primitive and classical modes in Chapter 2, and includes discussion of 'primitive' and 'classical' as constructive terminologies. Also advocating this comparative approach are Bordwell and Thompson, who, in their substantial work, have conceived of Hollywood in terms of a cohesive 'national' style. They argue that this style of seamless continuity editing, with all stylistic devices subordinated in service of the narrative, quickly gained favour in Europe in the 1920s, where it was widely copied and developed.

Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker argue that European filmmakers developed not a 'retarded' style, but an alternate style, entirely valid, and as such, should be analysed on its own terms and not compared disparagingly to Hollywood. This view has also been

supported by John Fullerton's doctoral dissertation *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film 1912-1920* in which he also calls for an evaluation of Swedish film as having created its own standard of staging and narrative practices.[23]

Therefore, when discussing problems and solutions in this study, the stylistic choices in Swedish cinema are seen to exist on their own terms, and Murnau's problems and solutions are examined against those chosen in contemporaneous German films and the earlier Swedish films. This method is also advantageous in seeking an objective analysis of the filmic material through close scrutiny, while avoiding an *a priori* approach to the material. Rather than simply comparing two films for visual similarities, the various devices and schemata which were chosen independently, and their functions, are examined separately for both Murnau's films and the Swedish films, and are then analysed for possible related choices. Douglas Riblet points out that 'analysis of the differences between national cinemas, between studios and between filmmakers in their treatment of common formal elements or genres may ultimately prove more interesting and more fruitful than simply citing similarities'.[24] This is considered very useful for this study in that comparison of both similarities in choices and analysis of the subtle differences which make them distinctive can prove to be a more rewarding study, allowing for greater complexity.

Through examining sets of problems and solutions articulated in the sample group of Swedish films, followed by careful observation of textual detail in Murnau's extant films, an assessment of the data is reached. Contemporary film reviews and subsequent scholarship and criticism of Murnau's non-extant films are considered invaluable in making this assessment. Priority is given to formal and stylistic concerns, determined by both textual and contextual considerations. Of the latter, factors such as both technical constraints and developments and the possibility of direct influence are also taken into account.

As stated above, written primary sources such as articles by directors and those who collaborated on the films are considered important in seeking to understand the directors' intentions when making choices. This also addresses an issue raised by Barry Salt who derides those recent theorists who are so intent upon decoding messages, but who ignore the significance of the film's makers who initially encoded them. An awareness of the 'conditions imposed on the director, and also the relation between the approach of a particular director and that generally prevailing at the period in question' is also emphasised by Salt.[25]

Certain aspects of the approach used in this investigation are borrowed from Neoformalist precepts. Drawing on the work of the Russian Formalists, Kristin Thompson developed this approach which allows one to judge which questions about a work are the most useful, and the method becomes an instrument devised by the researchers to answer the questions.[26] With this approach, the method would then vary from film to film because the questions would be different. Analysis of formal stylistic devices, schemata, and the relation between systems is of primary concern, as well as evaluation of their functions and motivations. The function of a device can vary from work to work according to its context, therefore identification of a device's function within a specific framework becomes a priority. The four types of motivation, compositional, realistic, transtextual, and artistic, can be identified separately or in relation to each other in order to understand the construction of narrative causality, space, or time. In addition, dominant and subordinate structures are identified and the tension between them is examined.

As with Bordwell, Elsaesser, and Salt, Thompson also uses the concept of style to denote a set of norms in film corresponding to a paradigm. Deviations from the established paradigm are identified, according to Thompson and Bordwell, through the process of 'defamiliarising', a state of cognitive recognition of unfamiliar aspects

experienced when the spectator views the films. As viewers become more familiar with reading particular devices or schemata, elements of an artwork must be added or altered in order to defamiliarise the viewer in a new way. This accounts, therefore, for the ever-changing artistic efforts to avoid automatisation and to achieve new defamiliarisation.

Neoformalism differs from the method used in this investigation in its insistence on comparative analysis of early films against the background of later, classical filmmaking.[27] This investigation also differs from that of Neoformalism in its limited attention to a significant aspect of the strict Neoformalist approach, the role of spectatorship. This subscribes to the postulation that generalisations of audience reaction can be made as to the ways that human beings view filmic material in different historical periods. Emphasis is placed on generalisations of audience perception rather than historical research as to the original contexts. It could be the case, as Yuri Tsivian suggests, that reception is cultural, involving variables such as class, education, and ethnicity.[28]

The generalisations of perception are thought to be of marginal interest in this study for the following reasons: audience response is necessarily broad and ambiguous, spanning both geographical and cultural domains and differing modes of perception throughout the decades. The manner in which an audience viewed *Nosferatu* in 1922 is without question markedly different from the tools which today's audiences use everyday in this age of intense media interaction, and these varied circumstances must be taken into account. As Elsaesser and Barker state, 'But to write film history from an engagement with the present means also being able to judge the distinctiveness of the past, and not foregrounding features which at a given point in history may not have had the same importance'.[29]

As this study deals with an analysis of formal, stylistic, and thematic issues within a historical context, interpretation is limited to both the function of individual stylistic solutions as intended by the

filmmaker, and to historical reception, rather than subjecting the films to generalisations of psychological perception. Of interest in this respect is Yuri Tsivian's *Early Cinema in Russia and its Cultural Reception.*[30] A focus on historical reception as put forth by Tsivian is considered more appropriate in reference to Murnau and Swedish silent film, and these issues are more fully discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Therefore, this study confines meaning to the manner in which different devices function within the filmic text itself, without speculation as to any meanings which might lie within an ideological or economic framework.

One of the more delicate aspects arising from a study of this sort is the issue of assigning influences. Some of the issues surrounding this discussion have been addressed in the essay 'On the Concept of "Influence" in Early Cinema' by Paolo Cherchi Usai.[31] In analysing the concept of influence in relation to early film prior to 1917, he identifies five models which can be used to indicate 'contact', if not influence: film circulation, thematic affinity, iconological parallels, expansion of film technology, and the relation between narrative and visual strategies based on cultivated or trained influences. Although he sees difficulties from an epistemological perspective, he acknowledges that visual intertexts between films can be established as to a determined practice, a narrative pattern, or a composition, and that any consideration of these factors must be based on discussions of film style.

In his 1975 book *Influence in Art and Literature*, Göran Hermerén distinguishes between 'artistic' influences which derive from artistic contact with either an artist or an artwork, and 'non-artistic' influences such as travels and personal relationships. Douglas Riblet cites Hermerén's assessment that 'influence should involve pervasive features of a work rather than isolated details and should have a long-lasting or continuous effect on the later artist's work rather than applying to only a single work or brief phase'.[32]

Bordwell states in his discussion of stylistic choices that 'problems and solutions do not respect borders … Trends in the

contemporary humanities discourage us from seeking out commonalities across periods and cultures, but in order to do justice to the dynamic of continuity and change, the historian of style should be alert for shared problems and parallel or linked solutions'.[33] In her work on Georg af Klercker, Astrid Söderbergh Widding also discusses the concept of inspiration and influence regarding Klercker's *Mysteriet natten till den 25:e* and the films of Louis Feuillade, and points out some striking similarities in narrative and composition.[34]

In the case of Murnau and the Swedish directors, it is felt that while Murnau was probably influenced by certain Swedish films which were widely available to him and, according to certain writings, it is quite certain that he had seen, an empirical assessment of shared problems and corresponding solutions is considered of primary importance, with any supposition concerning influence as secondary to this study.

Materials

Allen and Gomery have stated that '…if the object of film historical research is a question concerning a film, or group of films, or even an element of cinematic style, the historian must depend upon films as primary documents'.[35] Thus, these authors, who frequently ignore the filmic texts in their enthusiasm to explore alternative approaches to film history, do concede the role of textual analysis in critical investigations.

The primary substance for this research is to be garnered through close analytical examination of extant films to determine formal and stylistic structures. Both contemporary articles and more recent critical literature are used in an attempt to contextualise the numerous non-extant early films. Of Murnau's twenty-one films, eight are lost from his early work in Germany. Additionally, one of the extant films remains only as a negative in the Fox vaults.[36] As for the Swedish films, despite the destruction by fire on 22 September 1941 of the film archive temporarily housed at Nobel's explosives plant at Vinterviken, which

destroyed a substantial number of Sjöström and Stiller's films dating primarily before 1915, the impressive number of features which still survive today is due in part to Svensk Filmindustri's subsequent archival diligence and careful, prioritised attention to preservation.

The selection of films is based on the following criteria: all of Murnau's extant films are viewed and analysed in this research. Non-extant films are studied through the use of various secondary sources. Evaluation of a broad base of German films made in Germany simultaneously with those of Murnau is included, with consideration of works by directors as diverse as Lang, Lubitsch, Wiene, Leni, and Pick. The sample selection of 68 Swedish films viewed for this study is based on director and year of release. All extant films by Sjöström, Stiller, and Klercker are included, as they were by far the most prolific and important directors in Sweden. Four prominent films by Brunius, both of Hedqvist's extant films, and two each by Carlsten, Molander, and Dreyer are included, with one film by Barcklind. The time frame for Swedish films is delimited by the years 1912 to 1924 which refer to the respective release of *Trädgårdsmästaren* by Victor Sjöström and *Gösta Berlings saga* by Mauritz Stiller. The films produced during these twelve years are not only considered the most culturally prestigious, but are also those which were produced shortly before or contemporary with those of Murnau. Distribution of these films in Germany is taken into account, but is not a prerequisite. Non-extant Swedish films are likewise studied through the use of various secondary sources.

A pervasive problem in film historical research is that of textual variation, i.e., several versions of a single film. In viewing films which are 80 to 90 years old, it is inevitable that variations of an individual film exist. In the course of this research, examples have been viewed of films altered by indiscriminate cutting and by intertitles which reflect the distributor's hand rather than the director's. This includes copies in which a more 'appropriate' story was constructed by foreign distributors simply by altering the meaning of the original intertitles during

translation. Thanks to a growing interest in silent film history, and the recent increase in the number of film restorations conducted by museums and archives such as those in München and Bologna, study copies have been obtained of what are considered to be the most complete copies of the Murnau films available. As regards the Swedish films, the assurance of having viewed the best available copies is made much easier by the fact that since its inception, Svensk Filmindustri has continued to house an original negative for each film which has been produced, in addition to the archives of Svenska Biografteatern and Skandiafilm already in existence when they were incorporated into Svensk Filmindustri in 1919. Except for some of the pre-1915 negatives which were destroyed in the 1941 fire, Sweden's entire filmic heritage has remained intact. Private study copies have been obtained from the archive in Stockholm of all Swedish films in the sample mentioned above.

Chapter Contents

This investigation begins in Chapter 1 with a discussion of film historiography and issues surrounding directorial authorship. This is followed by an explanation of the research problem which is the focus of this analysis, as well as the research approach employed and the method of investigation. Chapter 2 addresses both the concepts of national cinemas and of national style. The differing modes of production as well as the salient stylistic systems in Sweden and Germany are discussed and are placed within an international context. In Chapter 3 a presentation is given of Murnau's salient stylistic and formal characteristics as identified in both the critical literature and from close textual examination of the films. Published claims as to the shared predisposition of Murnau and the Swedish directors for landscape, stylistic expressivity, and innovative technical expertise are listed. A comparative analysis is then presented as to narrative form and mise-en-scène elements such as settings, lighting, costumes, and

aspects of figure behaviour and staging. Cinematographic issues such as composition and special effects are also discussed, as well as editing selection and spatial and temporal relations. A detailed textual analysis of three of Murnau's earliest extant films, *Der Gang in die Nacht*, *Nosferatu. Eine Symphonie des Grauens*, and *Der brennende Acker* is the subject of Chapter 4. Individual stylistic devices and systems, both singular and recurrent, are noted, as well as overall formal comparisons. A final summation of subsequent findings is presented in Chapter 5.

In conclusion, the focus of the present research is the analysis of film from a historical perspective, addressing questions which film presents as an object of historical investigation. Of interest is the temporal dimension of the cinema; that is, how film developed over time or functioned at a given moment in the past. As film is an instrument of artistic expression, a cinematic goal or ideal form does not exist and should be discounted. In an attempt to explain the changes that have occurred in film, one must also account for aspects of the cinema that have *resisted* change. Such is the case for the questions posed in this study. Resistance can be evidenced in German and Swedish production choices in the face of Hollywood hegemony, in Murnau's attitude towards filmic expressionism, and in the late 1920s, his lack of enthusiasm for sound film technology. In these three examples, however, resistance took the form of creative alternative solutions. Murnau saw the film studios' staid formulaic resistance to change quite differently. In his article 'Films of the Future'[37], Murnau revealed his frustration not only with Hollywood's lack of experimentation and innovation, despite enormous budgets, but also its reliance on facile formulas enacted by popular screen personalities. In this study, the development of innovations and alternatives, as well as of forces which proved unyielding, is shown to play an important role in understanding both Murnau's early, often ignored work and the Swedish silent cinema.

Notes to Chapter 1

[1] Standard comprehensive film history surveys include George Sadoul's *Histoire du cinéma mondial*, Paris: Flammarion, 1949, and his *Histoire générale du cinéma – Le cinéma devient un art 1909-1920*, Paris: Denoël, 1952, and Jean Mitry's *Histoire du cinéma. Art et industrie*, Volumes I-III, Paris: Éditions Universitaires, 1967-1969.
[2] One of the most recent surveys is the five-volume set by Jerzy Toeplitz, *Geschichte des Films*, München: Rogner & Bernhard, 1979, which differs from its predecessors in Toeplitz's relative avoidance of overarching conclusions.
[3] See Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker (eds.), *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, London: BFI Publishing, 1990.
[4] Note, for example, the exclusion of any reference to Murnau in the collection of essays in *Silent Film*, (ed.), Richard Abel, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996, and lack of discussion in *Perspectives on German Cinema*, (eds.), Terri Ginsberg and Kirsten Moana Thompson, New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996.
[5] *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. Ein Melancholiker des Films*, Hans Helmut Prinzler (ed.), Berlin: Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek and Bertz Verlag, 2003. The accompanying filmography data closely follows that of Wolfgang Jacobsen in *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Reihe Film 43, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1990.
[6] See Angelika Breitmoser-Bock's published dissertation *Bild, Filmbild, Schlüsselbild. Zu einer kunstwissenschaftlichen Methodik der Filmanalyse am Beispiel von Fritz Langs Siegfried (Deutschland, 1924)*, München: Schaudig, Bauer, Ledig, 1992; David Bordwell's analysis, particularly of *La passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (1928) in *The Films of Carl-Theodor Dreyer*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981; Richard Abel's stylistic analysis of *La passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, as well as *Napoléon, vu par Abel Gance* (1927) and numerous other films in *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915-1929*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. See also John Fullerton's analysis of staging in *Trädgårdsmästaren* and *Ingeborg Holm* in his doctoral dissertation *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film 1912-1920*, University of East Anglia, 1994, and finally, Ben Brewster and Lea Jacob's dissection of acting style in Sjöström's films in 'Skådespelarkonsten: *Trädgårdsmästaren* och *Ingmarssönerna'* in *Blågult flimmer. Svenska film analyser*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1998, pp. 15-45. One step in this direction as regards textual analysis of Murnau's style is Helmut Weihsmann's discussion of *Der letzte Mann* in 'Virtuelle Räume: Die Formsprache der Neuen Sachlichkeit bei Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau', in *Die Metaphysik des Dekors: Raum, Architektur und Licht im klassischen deutschen Stummfilm*, (ed.), Klaus Kreimeier, Marburg: Schüren, 1994, pp. 22-48.
[7] David Bordwell, *On the History of Film Style,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997, p. 141. An interesting counter-approach is found in Brian Henderson's 'Two Types of Film Theory', *Film Quarterly*, Spring 1971, in which he proposes reading the results of stylistic analysis back into film theories, in order to test and correct theoretical claims.
[8] Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985.
[9] Thomas Elsaesser, 'The New Film History,' *Sight and Sound* 55, Autumn 1986, p. 247.
[10] Richard Roud, (ed.), *Cinema: A Critical Dictionary. The Major Film-makers*, New York: Viking Press, 1980, p. 14.
[11] Jim Hillier, (ed.), *Cahiers du Cinéma. The 1950s: Neo-Realism, Hollywood, New Wave*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985, p. 5.
[12] See David Bordwell's discussion of three views of authorship in *Film Art: An Introduction*, pp. 38-39.
[13] David Bordwell, *The Films of Carl-Theodor Dreyer*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, pp. 4, 9-24.

[14] Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar cinema and after: Germany's historical imaginary*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp.4-5. See also his 'The new German cinema's historical imaginary' in B. Murray and C. Wickham (eds.) *Framing the Past*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992, pp. 280-306.
[15] As a citation in Lotte Eisner's *Murnau*, p. 96, she refers to a series of articles called 'Nicht zur Veröffentlichung' in *Der Neue Film*, Wiesbaden, 1954 as the source of the following: 'According to Ernst Jaeger, Murnau later said, "My old films are unbearable".'
[16] See David Bordwell's *On the History of Film Style*, pp. 150-157 in which he adapts the problem/solution model drawn, in part, from the works of E.H. Gombrich; in particular, from Gombrich's *Art and Illusion. A study in the psychology of pictorial representation*, London: Phaidon, 1959, pp. 246-278.
[17] E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion. A study in the psychology of pictorial representation*, pp. 302-303.
[18] Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, 'Afterword', in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, pp. 408-409.
[19] See Bordwell's use of the Hollywood paradigm in his analysis of Dreyer, beginning with Dreyer's first film *Præsidenten* (1918) in *The Films of Carl-Theodor Dreyer*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, and Kristin Thompson in her presentation of Neoformalism, which is discussed below.
[20] Murnau started as a director at Decla-Bioscop in July 1921, on the resignation of Robert Wiene. See Lotte Eisner's *Murnau*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973, p. 92.
[21] See Barry Salt's *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis*, 2nd ed., London: Starword, 1992, in which he posits an appraisal of advanced and retarded styles based upon normative practices. The normative base in question, however, seems to vary indiscriminately; for example, a particular Swedish film which is not considered retarded when grouped with other Swedish films of the period, is referred to as retarded when compared with German films (See mention of undiffused sunlight on p. 78 and reverse-angle cutting on p. 171). At times, a film is referred to as retarded without identification of the normative base. He also uses 'retarded' in conjunction with certain stylistic devices (p. 171). In his article 'From Caligari to Who?', *Sight and Sound*, vol. 48, no. 2 , Spring 1979, p. 123, Salt mentions that other German directors were 'beginning to catch up' to Lubitsch's grasp of the Hollywood classical style. For his statement of audience preference for American films, see Salt's article, 'Early German Film: The Stylistics in Comparative Context' in *A Second Life: German Cinema's First Decades*, (ed.), Thomas Elsaesser, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996, p. 236.
[22] E.H.Gombrich, *Art and Illusion. A study in the psychology of pictorial representation*, p.15, in which he states, 'The historian's task is not to judge but to explain'.
[23] John Fullerton, *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film 1912-1920*, diss., University of East Anglia, 1994.
[24] Douglas Riblet, 'International Influences on «California Slapstick»', in *Cinéma sans frontières 1896-1918 Images Across Borders*, (eds.), Roland Cosandey and François Albera, Lausanne: Éditions Payot, 1995, p. 295.
[25] Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis,* 2nd ed., pp. 23, 25. For his version of a 'Practical Film Theory', see pp. 23-27.
[26] Kristin Thompson, *Breaking the Glass Armor: Neoformalist Film Analysis*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 7. See also Jerry L. Salvaggio's earlier 'The Emergence of a New School of Criticism: Neo-Formalism', *Journal of the University Film Association*, 33, no. 4, Fall 1981, pp. 45-52.
[27] Kristin Thompson, *Breaking the Glass Armor: Neoformalist Film Analysis,* p. 22.
[28] Yuri Tsivian, 'Some Historical Footnotes to the Kuleshov Experiment' in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, pp. 247-255.

[29] Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, 'Afterword', in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, p. 411.
[30] Yuri Tsivian, *Early Cinema in Russia and its Cultural Reception*, London & New York: Routledge, 1994.
[31] Paolo Cherchi Usai, 'On the Concept of "Influence" in Early Cinema' in *Cinéma sans frontières 1896-1918 Images Across Borders*, pp. 275-286.
[32] See discussion of Hermerén's analysis of methodological frameworks dealing with influence in Douglas Riblet's 'International Influences on «California Slapstick»', in *Cinéma sans frontières 1896-1918 Images Across Borders*, pp. 288-290. Citation, p. 289.
[33] David Bordwell, *On the History of Film Style*, pp. 155-156.
[34] Astrid Söderbergh Widding, *Stumfilm i brytningstid: stil och berättande i Georg af Klerckers filmer*, Stockholm: Aura förlag, 1998, pp. 92-98. See also Bengt Idestam-Almquist's discussion of Feuillade in *Filmstaden Göteborg, Hasselblads – Georg af Klercker – en bortglömd epok*, Göteborg [Gothenburg], 1971, pp. 30-34.
[35] Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice,* p. 36.
[36] Twelve extant films with release dates: *Der Gang in die Nacht* (21.1.21); *Schloß Vogelöd* (7.4.21); *Nosferatu. Eine Symphonie des Grauens* (4.3.22); *Der brennende Acker* (9.3.22); *Phantom* (13.11.22); *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* (7.1.24); *Der letzte Mann* (23.12.24); *Tartüff* (25.1.26); *Faust* (14.10.26); *Sunrise* (23.9.27); *City Girl* (16.2.30); *Tabu* (18.3.31); and 1 negative at Fox of *The Four Devils* (3.10.28). Eight films which are, at present, non-extant: *Der Knabe in Blau* (1919. According to Murnau, its release is unconfirmed. See Fred Gehler and Ullrich Kasten's *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Augsburg: AV-Verlag Franz Fischer, 1990, p. 227); *Satanas* (30.1.20); *Der Bucklige und die Tänzerin* (8.7.20); *Der Januskopf* (26.8.20); *Abend…Nacht…Morgen* (24.9.20); *Sehnsucht* (1920. No release date, censored 18.10.20); *Marizza, genannt die Schmugglermadonna* (20.1.22); *Die Austreibung* (23.10.23).
[37] F.W. Murnau, 'Films of the Future', *McCall's Magazine*, September 1928.

2. National Modes of Production, Themes, Narrative Form, and Stylistic Systems

2.1 Concepts of National Cinema and National Style

Cinemas tend to be referred to in terms of national entities. Is this simply for the sake of convenience and merely the sum accumulation of a nation's film products, or does a certain cohesiveness exist? Are individual filmmakers who work within a particular country's mode of production apt to arrive at a similar range of textual practices? Or should a national cinema be thought of as being not at the point of production, but rather at the point of reception; that is, a national cinema is based upon those films which the public sees. Other paths might be explored, such as cultural environment or literary and theatrical sources as providing a unifying nationalistic link.

In Andrew Higson's essay 'The Concept of National Cinema'[1], two methods are suggested for defining the specificity of a national cinema; firstly, by contrasting one cinema with another and identifying the differences, and secondly, by relating a particular national cinema to that country's traditions and already existing political, economic, and cultural identity. Both of these methods are used in this study. Higson states that defining a specific national cinema is 'invariably a hegemonising, mythologising process, involving both the production and assignation of a particular set of meanings, and the attempt to contain, or prevent the potential proliferation of other meanings.'[2] This tendency to create national conventions too often proves to be historically inaccurate as the corpus of films given academic attention has almost exclusively been those of high artistic and aesthetic value. Indeed, the research problem which is explored here investigates claims of supposed formal and stylistic similarities amongst German and Swedish art films. More recently, and particularly within the last fifty years, individual *auteurs* have rarely represented the popular cinema seen by the

majority of a nation's public. Their films are considered to be unique artistic exceptions and have proved repeatedly *not* to be indicative of popular public taste.

That being the case, it is certainly paradoxical that, except for the United States, it is a country's art films which are most successful abroad. Witness, for example, Ingmar Bergman's international critical success amongst cinema scholars and students, for while the themes in his films have established an international perception of Swedes and Swedish character, the films themselves have never been embraced by Swedish cinema patrons. On the other hand, Englishman Colin Nutley's popular Swedish-language films about Swedish life, which receive relatively little international attention, are perceived by many Swedes to be remarkably insightful depictions of national character.

Film historiography has, however, continued to define national cinemas, and indeed cultural stereotypes, by linking together the works of a nation's *auteur* directors. In recent years, more research has been initiated along the lines of production, distribution, exhibition, and reception in order to develop a more historically accurate picture of what constitutes a particular national cinema. Inclusion of commercial films also plays an important role, not least for purposes of comparison with existing perceptions. In addition, not only must geographical factors be taken into account, but ideological as well.[3]

Unlike the relatively homogeneous atmosphere of the early Swedish studios, the concept 'national cinema' becomes more complicated when one examines the German film industry, taking note of the large extent of international collaboration that was taking place in the late 1910s and the 1920s in Berlin. The marked influence of the Danish pair Asta Nielsen and her husband, director Urban Gad, was formidable, and their work in Berlin from as early as 1911 is addressed in *Schwarzer Traum und weiße Sklavin: deutsch-dänische Filmbeziehungen 1910-1930*[4], a collection of essays which represent the growing interest amongst researchers of silent film in exploring the

complicated issues involved with international relations between countries. Pola Negri came from Poland to Berlin in 1917 at the invitation of Max Reinhardt. The Russian director Dimitri Buchowetzki emigrated to Germany after the October Revolution. The Hungarian Lya de Putti entered German films in 1921. Swedish actors and actresses such as Greta Garbo, Lars Hanson, and Strindberg's wife, the Norwegian Harriet Bosse, worked in Berlin during the 1920s, and fellow Norwegian Aud Egede-Nissen had important roles in both Murnau's *Phantom* and *Die Austreibung.*[5] Indeed, Murnau's *Faust* is often mentioned as Ufa's clearest intentional use of an international cast and technicians. When examining Berlin's emergence after the First World War as a milieu for international artists, a focus for further study could include the non-German directors, technicians, and actors who participated in German films, and their possible role in contributing to Germany's recognised specificity as a national cinema.

It is a curious phenomenon that film production in the United States, that is, Hollywood, is rarely considered a national cinema, but rather, according to Tassilo Schneider, a 'transnational' institution from which foreign national cinemas are distinct, thus these cinemas are discussed 'primarily in terms of copies of, deviations from, or "subversions" of American standards'.[6] It is clear that the various national cinemas are comprised of more complicated factors than merely those elements which constitute approaches different from those found in Hollywood.

Amongst film historians and researchers, there is the general assumption that European cinemas developed a nationally specific cinema in response to the increasing world dominance of the Hollywood film. The cinematic style before the First World War is considered to be international, devoid of cultural specificity to any significant degree. This view also applies to the popular genres such as comedies and detective films which appeared in the mid- to late 1910s. Yuri Tsivian states that films during the 1910s were 'often perceived as set in a non-

descript macaronic universe', a diegesis to which he applies Michel Foucault's term 'heterotopia', i.e., ubiquitous spaces 'which lack cultural or geographic identity'.[7] This view would seem to be only marginally true of Swedish films, in particular those made during the latter part of the 1910s, which by that time were displaying nationally specific characteristics.

This early international style was gradually supplanted by more nationally distinctive characteristics. Richard Abel writes of 'the historical context of rampant, competing nationalisms' which continued into the 1920s, 'when American dominance challenged countries such as France, Germany, and the Soviet Union to develop a national cinema through resistance or opposition'.[8] Abel's use of the term 'national cinema' in this context appears to refer to nationally specific themes and stylistic systems, characteristics which could be easily discerned by an international audience as being uniquely identified with the country which had produced the film. Indeed, by 1919 the European cinemas had committed themselves to the production of more culturally distinct films. This reaction to the hegemonic influence of Hollywood films was, in part, an attempt to draw a larger domestic audience, and therefore greater profits, but in countries such as Germany and Sweden, there was a marked repudiation of the Hollywood product as being at best, light entertainment, and at worst, potentially harmful to the populace. Domestic film production was seen to offer a positive alternative.[9]

The growing concern in Europe in the face of 'Americanisation' led to the beginning of distribution deals in 1924 between countries such as Germany, France, England, and Italy. These multi-national arrangements which eventually led to co-productions and international borrowing of directors, actors, and technicians, was a phenomenon which Kristin Thompson discusses as 'Film Europe'.[10] In a sense, this cooperation between countries led not to a distinctive alternative to Hollywood films, but to a tepid imitation of it. Specific nationalistic traits were excluded in an attempt to increase marketability, a decision which

proved to be a failure. A case in point was the decline of the Swedish film industry by 1925, due in no small part to the departure of Sjöström and Stiller for Hollywood. As power within Svensk Filmindustri began to shift, the choice was made to abandon the expensive prestigious films based on Swedish literary or historical sources in an effort to remain competitive.[11] When Swedish films lost their distinctive 'Swedishness', the films proved to be unmarketable internationally, a situation which worsened with the advent of sound shortly thereafter.

In identifying the distinctive qualities which inevitably form a certain mythologising of a national cinema, the two approaches stated at the beginning of this chapter can be useful. In both Sweden and in Germany, the argument can be made for the existence of specific nationalistic traits which are tied to the nation's traditions of fine art, literature, drama, and music. The identification of these themes and salient stylistic practices and their functions, which are then contextualised and contrasted, comprises the concept of national style which is explored in the present study. This choice is only one of several possibilities, but it is considered by this author to be the most useful model for the line of inquiry presented here.

Primitive and Classical Modes

As mentioned in Chapter I, recent discussions of 1910s and 1920s European film contrast European use of technological and stylistic devices with a paradigm of 'monolithic' Hollywood, thus defining European cinemas by their deviation from the Hollywood system of representation.[12] The formal style used in Hollywood has come to be known as the 'classical' style, and formulation of its established use is judged to have begun by 1909-1911, and to have been firmly in place by 1917.[13] This date refers to the year by which the use of cinematic systems particular to 'classical' continuity, or 'invisible' editing, were commonplace in Hollywood films. This conception of film came to

dominate both European and non-Western cinemas by the late 1920s, and has subsequently been adopted almost unanimously throughout the world in films and television.[14] That is not to say, however, that future developments might not reveal general acceptance of a post-classical style.

Mention has frequently been made that the European films during the 1910s and early 1920s can be referred to as employing a 'primitive' mode of representation when compared to the 'classical' continuity style found in Hollywood films.[15] Although an extensive presentation of the classical style is not intended for this dissertation, the following system of representation which is attributed to the classical style can serve to clarify the general differences between Hollywood and European film styles of the 1910s and 1920s. Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker summarise these primary differences in early film very succinctly:

> The American style could be said to have developed a spatio-temporal articulation in view of a certain type of (character-centred and psychological) causality, of a narration in view of a subject position/knowledge position, and a mode of representation in view of a single diegesis, and achieved via editing, scene dissection, cutting rate, point-of-view structure and changing shot-scales.
>
> The European cinema could be said to have developed the 'primitive' style of narrativity, mainly by preserving a greater flexibility of narrational stances, whether this is explained in terms of monstration rather than narrative integration, a multiplicity of narrators and narrative authorities (both intra-textual and extra-textual), an emphasis on performance styles, a greater interplay of knowingness between spectator and character. Formally the European cinema seems to adhere to spatial coherence and spatial integrity, at the expense of unilinear causality determining spatio-temporal relation. Instead of scene dissection, fast cutting, and reverse field editing, the European cinema developed its systems of causality, its temporality and narration by a division of space into different playing areas, by deep staging, by action overlap, by 'editing within the frame' via door frames, apertures, by figure composition and frontality, and by a use of the look to generate off-screen space as an indeterminate space, rather than one folded back into the diegesis via point-of-view structure. By necessity such a style implies longer takes and a greater degree of autonomy for the shot, and the consequences are a different way of reading the frame, different skills in 'following' the narrative, and a different mode of spectatorial address.[16]

John Fullerton's studies of Swedish film of the 1910s[17] argue for the development in the 1910s of different European systems of

representations, entirely valid in their own right. Additionally, as it was not until 1917 that the classical style was pervasive in Hollywood, the use of the classical style as a 'background set' with which to analyse European films of the mid-1910s seems unproductive.

In discussing the Swedish and German cinemas in this investigation, particular time frames for each have been delineated. These have been delimited by the years 1919-1926 when Murnau was directing films in Germany, and the years 1912-1924 in Sweden with which Murnau's early films have been compared. As it happens, the two time frames in both countries correspond closely with what has been referred to as each country's 'Golden Age'. This term is often used so indiscriminately that it bears more examination.

When one reads about a particular national cinema, with perhaps the exception of Hollywood, there seems to be mention of a 'Golden Age'.[18] This term can invariably be found in reference to the cinemas of Denmark (the early 1910s), France (the 1930s), Italy (the early 1910s and late 1940s), and Russia (the mid-1920s). This concept, however, can be problematic in several ways. Firstly, the time frame is normally defined, both by audiences and critics, by the release dates of the first and last of a group of 'exceptional' films within a limited period. The important films within the 'Golden Age' are therefore isolated from the work produced before and after this period, an argument which proves unreliable if a distinguished film should appear several years after the end of the neatly delineated 'Golden Age'. Secondly, the films in question are normally those which have achieved international success, thus equating artistic value with financial gain outside the domestic market. Finally, there is a tendency to group the notable films systematically under one thematic and/or stylistic umbrella, which can lead to a search for unifying characteristics where they might not exist. The use of the term 'Golden Age' is therefore avoided in this study because of its inherent restrictions. As is presented in Chapter 3, however, Murnau's early films are often mentioned in reference to the Swedish Golden Age

of filmmaking, and this term continues to be widely used in the critical literature.

2.2 The Swedish Film, 1912-1924: Mode of Production, Themes, Narrative Form, and Stylistic Systems

This section addresses the divergent modes of production within the leading film companies during the years delineated. The prevalent themes of the quality productions at that time are also evaluated and the role of landscape is discussed. Finally, an assessment of stylistic devices and systems which created a specific system of representation in Sweden are presented.

2.2.1 Swedish Film Industry and Mode of Production

In this discussion of the Swedish film industry, the four most important film companies are considered: AB Svenska Biografteatern (Svenska Bio) in Stockholm, Hasselblad Fotografiska Aktiebolag (Hasselblad) in Gothenburg, Filmindustri AB Skandia (Skandia) in Stockholm, and AB Svensk Filmindustri, also in Stockholm. It should be noted that the latter, Svensk Filmindustri, was the result of a merger in 1919 between Svenska Bio and Skandia, subsequently acquiring Skandinavisk Filmcentral in 1922, and is the same state-subsidised film production company which is dominant in Sweden today.

In considering the history of film in Sweden, its rapid rise to prominence during the mid- to late 1910s is equated with literary and artistic masterpieces, films with which film producers sought to engage a bourgeois audience. It must be remembered, however, that Sweden's rise was all the more remarkable in that it had been quite poor and undeveloped. After Finland and Italy, it was the most agrarian country in Europe leading up to the First World War.[19] French and Danish films dominated European exhibition, but their importance in the market-place dwindled as Swedish film began to increase its reputation for artistic prestige films.

The earliest film activities were centred not in Stockholm or Gothenburg, but rather in the southern Swedish city of Kristianstad. Three local men named Wiberg, Björkman, and Nylander founded the most important of the early Swedish film enterprises in 1905, which were engaged primarily in distribution and the expansion of the cinema circuit.[20] On 16 February 1907 a series of various partnerships resulted in the creation of Svenska Biografteatern, which remained the leading production firm in Sweden throughout the 1910s until it was incorporated into Svensk Filmindustri in 1919. It was, therefore, primarily Svenska Bio which produced the now-established canon of film 'masterpieces' during those years, with Hasselblad and Skandia both producing films of quality but playing a much smaller role.

With the establishment of Svenska Bio in Kristianstad, southern Sweden became the base for filmmaking activity, in no small part due to the close proximity of Nordisk in Copenhagen, at that time the leading film industry in Scandinavia. At the time of Svenska Bio's first operations, approximately 75% of the films produced in Sweden were nature films and journalistic reportage films. The journalistic films, such as the funeral of King Oskar II in 1907, have been mentioned in connection with the development of narrative techniques and film language.[21]

It is the innovation and determined guidance of Charles Magnusson which is credited with the rise of the Swedish film industry. Magnusson had been a photographer of news reportage, nature, and travel films, such as *Bilder från Fryksdalen* (*Gösta Berlings land*) from 1907 which was made as a response to Selma Lagerlöf's enormous popularity. Magnusson arrived as production manager of Svenska Bio in 1909 and also wrote scripts for five films during the next few years. The Swedish cinema's renowned use of location shooting since its inception is due in great part to Charles Magnusson and he rejected the common practice in other countries of seeing the cinema in terms of 'filmed theatre'. He felt that both the visual elements and performances should

be free of the limitations of stage production, and had the foresight to exploit those particular qualities in cinema which make it unique, which, unlike theatre, is notably the ability to record photographic images of real locations.

In encouraging the production of films which were less theatrical and more cinematic, not only were outdoor settings preferred but a more natural style of acting was promoted. During the first years of operation until 1910, primarily amateur actors had been used in Svenska Bio productions. In an attempt to elevate the quality of future productions, Magnusson engaged the director Gustaf 'Muck' Linden from the Royal Dramatic Theatre (Dramaten) in Stockholm, as well as actors from both Dramaten and the Royal Opera.[22] The apparent contradiction inherent in choosing stage actors to perform in a less theatrical style is indicative of the importance Magnusson placed on professionalism in elevating the quality of productions. Magnusson and Linden's collaboration proved successful in that by 1910 Svenska Bio had begun producing longer fictive films which were usually based on stage plays, as with *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, *Bröllopet på Ulfåsa*, and *Värmlänningarne.*

The cameraman Julius Jaenzon was employed in the late autumn of 1910 as the head lighting cameraman, replacing cameraman Robert Olsson who had left Svenska Bio to work abroad.[23] Jaenzon travelled extensively during his first years with Svenska Bio, filming both travelogues and random film footage at various locations throughout the world which could later be incorporated into feature films. Jaenzon, who often used the pseudonym J. Julius, was both technically and artistically skilled and played an integral role in establishing the Swedish cinema's reputation for cinematic excellence. Both Julius Jaenzon and his brother, the cameraman Henrik Jaenzon, were responsible for the camerawork on the overwhelming majority of quality productions during the years in question. Although they both were considered at the time to be the leading cameramen in Sweden, the duties of a less privileged cameraman throughout the 1910s could be

extended to include tasks as diverse as scriptwriting, make-up, and electrician.[24] This lack of differentiation in the division of labour, particularly in the early years up to the mid-1910s, applied to other film technicians as well.

Svenska Bio was growing rapidly and in order to facilitate this expansion the company moved in 1911 to Stockholm, where a studio was built at Kyrkviken on Lidingö, an island suburb east of Stockholm. The studio was twenty metres long and seven metres wide with glass walls and ceiling and was located on a lot of approximately 1650 square metres. Extensions were added two years later, and an additional studio was constructed in 1916.[25] Upon completion of the first studio in Lidingö, production increased quickly. The years 1912 to 1913 proved to be pivotal ones for Svenska Bio, as production for these two years reached thirty-three films, twenty-three of which were directed by the newly acquired directors Victor Sjöström and Mauritz Stiller. Changes in the company's mode of operation were made, including increased capitalisation of the industrial base for production and with this, increased production values and longer films of three, four, or five reels. The division of labour was more qualified, and new positions with specified tasks were created. This stronger division of labour inevitably included an emphasis on financial planning and closer monitoring of production in supervisory positions than earlier.[26]

During the early 1910s, the cinemas changed their offerings twice a week, which created a great need for copies and new productions.[27] In response to the demand, a leading cinema-chain owner, N. P. Nilsson, known as 'Häst-Nisse', started the production company Orientaliska Teatern in 1911 as a way to supply his numerous cinemas. The name was borrowed from his finest Stockholm cinema located in Drottninggatan 31, and the company became one of the primary competitors to Svenska Bio during this time. Films produced by Orientaliska Teatern were promoted as 'svenska konstfilm' (Swedish art films) with film announcements declaring 'Gynna svensk konst!'

(Support Swedish art!). 'Konstfilm' had become a prestigious term which designated high quality productions featuring well-known theatrical actors.[28]

In its short production history, terminated by Nilsson's death in 1912, Orientaliska Teatern produced adaptations of stage plays, such as the earliest productions of Strindberg's *Fröken Julie* and *Fadren* from 1912. Strindberg had freely given the journalist Gustaf Uddgren permission to film his plays, and Uddgren's wife, the theatrical director Anna Hofman-Uddgren, was responsible for the direction.[29] Strindberg refused to write film manuscripts based on his own works, and relegated this task to Gustaf Uddgren. Both of these films featured actors from Intima Teatern (Intiman) in Stockholm, a theatre established by the actor August Falck with Strindberg's support. Although the play *Fröken Julie* is set entirely in a single room, the kitchen of the manor house, Hofman-Uddgren's film was cinematically varied and inventive. The director's daughter Alice Eklund has recounted that her mother was quite determined that filming for *Fröken Julie* should take place in authentic locations and received permission to film at the castle Stora Wäsby in Uppland.[30] Strindberg is said to have seen a screening of *Fröken Julie* and was pleased with the adaptation.[31] In contrast, Hofman-Uddgren's film adaptation of *Fadren* which followed could be considered to be statically filmed theatre. This choice may have been due to pressure by the lead actor, August Falck, who had also played the character Jean in *Fröken Julie,* in an attempt to retain the integrity of the stage play.[32]

AB Svea-Film was a small production company which specialised in nature reportage films, which were intended primarily for export. These ranged from documenting Swedish military life (*Svenskt militärliv*, 1914) to research travels in Australia (*Från D:r Eric Mjöbergs forskningsfärd i Australien*, 1914). Of the seven films produced by Svea-Film, only one is a fictive feature film from 1919. *Kultur och Natur* dealt with a couple travelling by train in Lapland who unsuccessfully attempt

to resolve various conflicts between culture, or civilisation, and nature. This attempt to unite Svea-Film's nature documentary film experience with fabricated intrigue was generally thought by the critics to favour the landscape rather than the dramatic narrative.[33]

Sweden's neutrality during the First World War served to propel the industry in that it enabled film production not only to continue but flourish as other European film companies were plagued with trading obstacles. There were two primary factors which contributed to Sweden's film expansion during the war: firstly, Swedish films were not affected by the blockades imposed on other countries' films, and secondly, as most European production was disrupted due to the war, few foreign films were imported into Sweden and the Swedish film was privileged within its own domestic market. It was not, however, merely Sweden's political stance of neutrality which allowed the production of high quality films during these years.

The production of prestigious films which enabled Sweden to offer a valuable commodity in the marketplace during the war was due to the foresight of Charles Magnusson. He allowed the directors to have considerable freedom and was quite adamant that the directors should have the possibility to create as they wish. Peter Cowie has asserted that this philosophy accounts for a national cinema the nature of which has tended to produce an individualistic rather than collective view.

> 'The film producer must be supreme ruler. He alone decides...but after he has given the starting signal, he should leave the director in peace. If the director is unworthy of this confidence, he is not fit to be a director.' Thus Magnusson summed up his views on the structure of the film-making machine in Sweden, and the policy continues today. Kenne Fant, now head of Svensk Filmindustri, wrote to me recently: 'Maybe here in Sweden the artistic integrity of our film directors is rather unique, but probably it is owing to the fact that most of them come from other branches of art – the theatre, literature – where their freedom is a matter of course. Besides, there is the fact that Swedish film production by tradition has accepted that every artist has to work with the greatest possible freedom ….[34]

Although Sjöström and Stiller were committed to the creation of high quality films, it was Magnusson who made the deliberate decision to produce fewer films per year than previously, with each film having a larger budget, higher production values, and ideally based on a literary work. By limiting the annual production of films to a small number of high quality productions drawn primarily from national folklore and literary sources, it was his intention to distance Swedish film as much as possible from the above-mentioned Danish films which were popular internationally and often financially successful, but also risky and unpredictable types of production with decidedly sensational themes often based on jealousy and infidelity.[35] Swedish film strove for comparisons with other modes of artistic expression such as the theatre and the visual arts by choosing from various artistic and literary sources. Leif Furhammar discusses debates in Stockholm's daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* regarding film as art[36] as well as the eventual establishment of the academically based Svenska Filmsamfundet (Film Society) in 1933 to promote artistic, cultural, and technical growth in Sweden.[37]

Prominent literary works which were considered desirable sources for film adaptations included those by authors such as Selma Lagerlöf, August Strindberg, and the Norwegians Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Henrik Ibsen in the hope of acquiring a more prestigious image for the cinema. Selma Lagerlöf signed a contract with Svenska Bio for five films to be made from her works at the rate of one per year. According to film historian Gösta Werner, Svenska Bio's annual film production dropped from twenty-seven films in 1916 to seven films in 1917, with only five films produced in 1918.[38] Two of these films were carefully crafted literary adaptations of Jóhann Sigurjónsson's *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* and Lagerlöf's *Ingmarssönerna*, both of which displayed higher production values than had been seen previously. Stiller's sophisticated comedy *Thomas Graals bästa barn* was also produced that year; the final two Svenska Bio productions of 1918, however, were the less than

prestigious pair of short animated comedies, *Kapten Grogg gifter sig* and its sequel *Kapten Grogg och fru*.

Within the domestic market during the first two years of the war, however, Svenska Bio was not yet in a leading position in Sweden. The French company Pathé Frères and the Danish film company Nordisk were the leading film production companies in Europe, and Pathé took advantage of Sweden's neutrality by establishing its affiliate within the country, and subsequently forcing Swedish cinema owners to become customers through the threat of a boycott should they choose to screen films from another company. Nordisk also conducted a similar strategy at this time, resulting in Svenska Bio's decision to choose Nordisk.[39]

Swedish film studios were not limited to Stockholm and one of the most prominent and prolific studios at the time of the First World War was Hasselblad in Gothenburg. An outgrowth of the well-known camera manufacturing company, it was typical of the small studios of the time. The intention of Hasselblad director Nils Bouveng was to counter the competition by Nordisk and Pathé Frères' Swedish subsidiary. The director Georg af Klercker was engaged by Bouveng and commenced work at Hasselblad in May 1915, although during Klercker's first year there was no proper Hasselblad studio. Exterior filming took place in the environs of Gothenburg, with interior scenes being filmed outdoors in constructed settings in the back garden of the Victoria cinema. A studio was constructed the following year in Otterhällan on a hill overlooking Gothenburg, with a view that would be recognised in several of Hasselblad's films. The roof and two walls were of glass, and the dimensions nine metres wide, nineteen metres long, with a height of eight metres at the top and five at the sides. In comparison with Svenska Bio's studio in Lidingö, Otterhällan was one metre shorter, but two metres wider and almost twice as high.[40] In the summer of 1917 Hasselblad did not renew Klercker's contract, no doubt due in part to his recent hospitalisation for symptoms of mental instability. In

addition, plans were already being made for the incorporation of Hasselblad into a new, larger cooperative.

Skandia was founded in the spring of 1918 as an amalgamation of Hasselblad, the distribution company Victorias Filmbyrå, Svea-Films, Biograf AB Sverige, Biograf AB Victoria, and Pathé-Frères' Swedish subsidiary. Nils Bouveng was named as the head of Skandia, and although Hasselblad under his leadership had come to be associated almost exclusively with melodramas, Bouveng placed marked emphasis at Skandia on the production of prestigious literary films which could compete successfully with those being offered at Svenska Bio. Carl Barcklind's *Hemsöborna* (1919) and Rune Carlsten's *Högre ändamål* (1921) were the first two films in an intended series of adaptations of Strindberg's plays; these were intended as Skandia's response to Svenska Bio's successful Lagerlöf adaptations, but these plans were abandoned after *Högre ändamål*'s disappointing failure with contemporary audiences and critics.[41]

As Bo Florin points out, however, rivals Svenska Bio and the newly formed Skandia were not completely distinct from each other in that various scriptwriters, cameramen, and actors contributed to projects for both companies.[42] In terms of resources, Skandia was many times larger than Svenska Bio, not only in available capital for production, but in exhibition as the owner of a large chain of twenty cinemas. According to Gardar Sahlberg[43], during the last years of the war, raw film was difficult to procure from other countries, and there was no domestic raw film production. Skandia, as had Hasselblad earlier, held an advantage over Svenska Bio in its close contacts with producers of raw film such as Eastman and Pathé.

At the end of the war, the Swedish film industry was still in a strong position and high quality production continued through 1920. By that time, however, American films had begun to arrive in Europe in increasing numbers and other European film industries were solidifying their production. In an effort to compete effectively, Svenska Bio merged

with Skandia on 27 December 1919 to become Svensk Filmindustri, which remains the most important production company in Sweden.[44] At the head sat two presidents, Charles Magnusson and Nils Bouveng, who were now in a position to exercise almost exclusive control over the Swedish film industry. In addition to a tremendous amount of capital, Svensk Filmindustri now owned at least 70 cinemas and three production studios: Svenska Bio's Råsunda studio in Stockholm, Skandia's studio in Långängen, and the newly acquired Hellerup studio near Copenhagen. The studio at Råsunda retained its importance as the central base for new productions, but the latter two studios produced no films after 1920, with the exception of Benjamin Christensen's *Häxan* in Hellerup in 1922; this non-productivity would soon prove to be a tremendous financial burden for Svensk Filmindustri.

When speaking of the film industry in Sweden, mention must be made of the Swedish government's role in both film production and distribution. The close relation between the Swedish government and the film industry is one which was established at the outset, and closely resembles the unique state-film industry relationship found in other Scandinavian countries.[45] The government has long been in the position to exercise control over production content through unapproved proposals and the offer of production subsidies for endorsed projects, which, in turn, is intended to provide a stimulating creative atmosphere.

State intervention was initiated, to a large degree, due to concerns about the increasing number of sensational fictive films which were designed for entertainment purposes. The highly influential 'Nick Carter' films, directed by Victorin Jasset between 1908 and 1911 and produced by the French film company Eclair, were exciting detective films with gangster-dominated themes. They were widely distributed throughout Europe and the United States, countries which in turn were eager to produce their own versions. The early Svenska Bio films were patterned chiefly after Danish melodramas or the French *film d'art*. Their popularity proved to be in stark contrast to the documentary films

which professed educational ideals. Suppression of the more exploitative films was strongly supported by the large number of Swedish citizens whose sympathies lay with the revivalist, temperance, and labour movements. Sweden's first film publication *Nordisk Filmtidning* was founded in 1909 and it confronted the growing controversy by organising a petition to create a state-run censorship agency.[46] This proposal found additional favour with Swedish cinema owners, who were eager to increase the cinema patronage of bourgeois audiences willing to pay higher entrance prices.

On 4 September 1911 the aims of Swedish government officials, concerned citizens, the press, and cinema owners were realised with the introduction of a state-run censorship board, one of the first in the world. Three months later, on 1 December 1911, the censorship board (Statens Biografbyrå) required all films shown in the country to have a certificate signifying their suitability for public consumption.[47] Amongst those films which were censored was Sjöström's first film *Trädgårdsmästaren* in 1912, which was entitled *Världens grymhet* (*The World's Cruelty*) at the time it was censored. Numerous films by Frans Lundberg in Malmö were censored, as well as Georg af Klercker's first film *Tvenne bröder* (also known as *Två bröder*) in 1912 and his sensational detective film *Mysteriet natten till den 25:e* in 1917. During the 1910s, Danish films were actively targeted by Swedish censors as being of questionable moral taste and Rune Waldekranz has commented that Sjöström's *Trädgårdsmästaren* was an imitation of this immensely popular but often suggestive Danish style.[48] Hans Pensel mentions that when Charles Magnusson visited Russia in 1916, he wrote that Russians were looking for productions of drawing-room dramas with murder and seduction, the same taste that had been prevalent in Sweden before censorship regulations in 1911, although censored films directed by Sjöström and Stiller were successfully distributed in both pre-Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary Russia.[49]

German films were not available in Sweden until 1918 due to German export regulations, but by the time restrictions had been substantially eased in 1920, the Swedish censors also considered many films from Germany to have an injurious influence. Amongst them was F.W. Murnau's film *Der Bucklige und die Tänzerin* which had its première in Berlin on 8 July 1920. Later that year it was subject to the Swedish censorship laws, a decision which was appealed by the production company Helios Film in Berlin. [50]

The nationalistic elements drawn from literature which had served Sweden's interests so well during and briefly after the war were increasingly de-emphasised in favour of a more routine offering, which to some extent increasingly attempted to copy American formulas. After Stiller's *Gunnar Hedes saga* (1923) and two-part *Gösta Berlings saga* (1924), however, there was a continuation of the Lagerlöf adaptations in the 1925 two-film version of *Jerusalem* directed by Gustaf Molander, who would come to be one of the most important directors during the following decades. The two parts of the *Jerusalem* saga, *Ingmarsarvet* and *Till Österland*, became the first formal Swedish-German co-production and included actors the Mathias Taube and Conrad Veidt, who had earlier had a leading role in Murnau's *Der Gang in die Nacht*. The era of the Lagerlöf-inspired farm-drama was coming to a close, however, as the Swedish public had now acquired a preference for contemporary subjects in modern locales. Magnusson began to consider more costly productions in an attempt to compete with American films. Several of these high budget films, such as *Hon, den enda* (*Sie, die Einzige*, 1926), *Flickorna Gyurkovics* (*Die sieben Töchter der Frau Gyurkovics*, 1926), and *Parisiskor* (*Dr. Monnier und die Frauen*, 1928), were produced in collaboration with Ufa in Berlin.[51] The expense involved in creating these commercial productions was not recuperated, however, and money continued to be lost. As the commercial Hollywood product continued to prove the most popular with audiences and was vigorously distributed throughout Europe, Sweden had little hope of

competing. In addition, Sweden's most important figures, Sjöström, Stiller, Lars Hanson, Greta Garbo, and the writer Hjalmar Bergman had all accepted contracts with Hollywood studios by 1925. Magnusson remained as but one in a group of directors at Svensk Filmindustri until 1928.

2.2.2 Themes, Narrative Form, and Stylistic Systems in Swedish Film

In his doctoral dissertation *Den nationella stilen*, Bo Florin discusses various approaches which have been used by film historians to analyse the Swedish silent cinema. In discussing what constituted the understanding of Swedish national style during the silent era, Florin finds the concept to have been more closely defined in terms of thematic issues than stylistic devices.[52] He concludes that the most widely attributed characteristic of the Swedish cinema is its depiction of the natural world: the ubiquitous presence of Nature. The concept of nature or the natural world is so closely identified with the Swedish silent cinema in the critical literature that an inextricable link has been formed. Even in early announcements, mention is made of 'beautiful Swedish nature pictures' in order to draw a greater viewing public.[53]

In the milieu created by Magnusson which was receptive to creativity, it was Sjöström who took the most advantage of this freedom and made use of extraordinary landscape settings to express his strong personal affinities in a particularly poetic visual style. Landscape had figured in the earlier films of Porter, Ince, and Griffith, and in Italian monumental films such as *Cabiria* and *Otello* from 1914, location shooting of spectacular scenery was utilised as providing '"literary travelogues" offering "guided tours" of Shakespeare's Italian settings'.[54] What was significant in the filmed sequences in Swedish cinema, however, was the *function* of natural settings and landscape. The prevalent use of nature is invariably incorporated into the films to denote a conflict between man and the environment, often in situations involving storms, floods, or fires, as demonstrated in the important role

of the sea in *Terje Vigen*. The drama is driven by the characters' reactions to the trials imposed by nature and their attempts to confront the harsh conditions; the result of this conflict inevitably determines whether or not the characters triumph over their obstacles. This largely introspective quest to overcome adversity was a key element in Sjöström's films which he often chose to render through the use of symbolically but logically integrated and realistically represented landscape. Brita's trepidation on the edge of the bluff when contemplating suicide in *Ingmarssönerna* (1919) is powerfully realised in the towering cliff, an image which also recalls the death of the young child whom Halla drops from the cliff in *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* (1917), and Berg-Ejvind's brush with death whilst hanging by a rope over the precipice.

Primary concerns in Sjöström's films also include the manner in which human emotion can be artistically reflected in both natural scenery and cultivated landscape and, in turn, how nature affects characters' decisions, actions, and destiny. The majestic mountains and natural landscape in *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* (Fig. 1) functions in a dual role as a refuge while at the same time creating an atmosphere of inescapable fate. Nature is depicted here as both a nurturing and brutal force which reflects the narrative; summer personifies love and winter represents death.[55] This iconography is common, found even in Sjöström's *Körkarlen* (1920) which makes use primarily of constructed sets. The main story takes place during the winter, specifically on New Year's Eve, and the flashbacks to his once idyllic family life depict sunny gardening scenes, picnics by a lake, and so forth. Dramatic situations are created by allowing the characters to be activated as much by weather and other natural forces as by society; in turn, nature also often reflects intellectual and emotional struggles, as in *Karin Ingmarsdotter* (1920). 'Changes in weather and seasons, views of mountains and plains, images of roaring rivers and swaying birch groves' represent the description of characters and their fate.[56] The

spectacular but temperamental forces of nature are used as a dramaturgical factor to develop and explore more fully the characters' conflicts and emotions. Sjöström's films *Havsgamar* (1916) and especially *Terje Vigen* (1917) are early examples of the sea being used to reflect struggles between the characters and within themselves.

Not only was the pervasive use of Swedish landscape a vital dramaturgical device, but it also played an important role in defining national themes and images. In addition to the prevalence of nature and landscape, common thematic structures with which the Swedish cinema is so strongly linked include the rural peasant dramas set in farming communities. This association was enhanced considerably through Magnusson's decision to draw subject matter for Svenska Bio productions increasingly from respected, primarily Nordic literary sources; in particular, he favoured films with rural romantic ambitions and those which emphasised themes of Scandinavian folklore. That films with these attributes drew for the most part from the works of well-respected authors formed the basis of what are collectively known as literary films. The aspects of naturalism and realism which are present in these literary works played a fundamental role in establishing basic precepts which have been seen as intrinsic components of Swedish national character. These films were in general more literary and nationalistic than those in Germany, and were commonly filmed on location in settings appropriate to the story which were recognisable to the primarily Swedish audience. From the beginning, Swedish cinema reflected a strong connection with national folklore, one of the earliest instances being the two successful films from 1910 based on *Värmlänningarna* (*The People of Värmland*).

In addition to Henrik Ibsen and the prominent Swedish author and playwright Hjalmar Bergman, works by five winners of the Nobel Prize for literature were adapted during these years. It is noteworthy that all five Nobel laureates were Scandinavians: Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1903) and Knut Hamsun (1920) from Norway, Henrik Pontoppidan and

Karl Gjellerup (shared prize in 1917) from Denmark, and Selma Lagerlöf from Sweden. Seven of the works of Lagerlöf, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1909, were produced between 1917 and 1926; a total of eleven films by four directors were made in Sweden during the silent era from these seven works, with four of the films drawing from her novel *Jerusalem* alone.[57] She was immensely popular with the Swedish public at this time, and was enthusiastic in her approval for films to be based on her writings. Sjöström was well suited to adapting the works of Lagerlöf, and his peasant dramas aptly depict the deeply rooted traditions and folkloric customs.

Considering the respect August Strindberg commanded both in Sweden and abroad, film adaptations of his works would have seemed to be in great demand. As mentioned earlier, Orientaliska Teatern adapted *Fröken Julie* and *Fadern* in 1912 after receiving Strindberg's permission and Skandia attempted to create a series in 1919 with *Hemsöborna*, which was discontinued after the failure of *Högre ändamål* in 1921. Perhaps this was due to Strindberg's preference for dilemmas involving genre and class issues, often in an bourgeois urban setting. In addition, the strength of Strindberg's literary style is his innovative use of language for psychological explorations rather than the very visual power of more episodic works by Lagerlöf and Bjørnson; this aspect alone could account for the generally acknowledged failure of film adaptations of his works, reliant as they were on intertitles during the silent era.[58]

Peter Cowie sees in Sjöström's first film *Trädgårdsmästaren* a precursor of the themes with which he would be preoccupied in his following films: 'the injustice shown towards unmarried women in Swedish society, the lethal influence of alcohol – alleviating pain, inducing melancholy, and finally leading to death; and the involvement of landscape and natural surroundings as a personality in the drama'.[59] It is notable that strong female roles figure in the majority of films of

Sjöström and Stiller, as in *Ingeborg Holm, Karin Ingmarsdotter*, Irene and Marthe in *Eroktikon*, and Ursula in *Vem domer?*, among many others.

Sweden is quite unique in that unlike most other national cinemas, the Swedish films of artistic quality which were produced during those years were the inspired efforts of a small number of directors: Victor Sjöström, Mauritz Stiller, and to a lesser degree, Georg af Klercker, John W. Brunius, Ivan Hedqvist, and Konrad Tallroth. Sjöström and Stiller completed ninety films between them during these years, the most prominent of which were drawn from established literary works. In contrast, Georg af Klercker, who worked primarily at Hasselblad Studios in Gothenburg, took material from contemporary popular novels and serialised fiction. Brunius was associated with Skandia and began directing films in 1918 with the peasant drama *Synnöve Solbakken*, but his sensibilities were more closely aligned with historical costume spectacles.

Perhaps it is due to its dominance by only a few directors that, as mentioned above, the question has been raised as to whether the Swedish cinema of the 1910s is the product of several 'auteurs'[60], or if, in fact, Swedish films were homogeneous with the various directors conforming to a collective identity without foreign influences. One French writer states that in Germany, America, Russia, and France a work is determined by the auteur, but states his difficulties in differentiating Sjöström's films from those of Stiller and Brunius.[61] Indeed, Ivan Hedqvist's 1919 film version of Selma Lagerlöf's novella *Dunungen* bears many similarities with Sjöström's film style, for example, in *Hans Nåds testamente*.

Victor Sjöström came to film, as did Stiller, Klercker, and Brunius, with experience in the theatre, and was an established actor and theatrical director when he was employed by Charles Magnusson at Svenska Bio. He continued to act, both in his own films and those of Stiller's. In 1913 Sjöström was responsible for the idea and creation of what is considered the first Swedish art film, *Ingeborg Holm*; this serious

drama of a woman's descent into madness (Fig. 2) was to set the ponderous tone for his subsequent films as director. Much emphasis has been given to the striking images of nature in his films, but at the core it is the moral characteristic of a film which is of central concern. Portrayals of human behaviour emphasising deep moral dilemmas are repeatedly represented in his films; the difficult situations in which the characters are found are often due to, or result in, death. His moralistic dramas are described in the critical literature as solemn, psychologically penetrating, and stately with a sense of fatalism. It was Sjöström's focus on internalised suffering rendered in a somber and restrained manner for which he is generally considered to be the director most representative of the 'Swedish style'.

Although historically the names Sjöström and Stiller are linked together, Mauritz Stiller became associated during the 1910s with clever and sophisticated drawing-room comedies, elegant and well paced such as *Kärlek och journalistik* (1916), which displayed the witty style which would culminate with the influential *Erotikon* in 1920. Gösta Werner, who is considered to be the foremost authority on Stiller and his films, finds that although Stiller seemed to prefer constructed sets and relatively few films were shot entirely or primarily on location, he displayed for the first time in *Sången om den eldröda blomman* (1919) an intuitive feeling for the Nordic landscape and how it was reflected in the temperament of the people who lived there.[62] Here the landscape is being used as strikingly attractive background which in itself is non-threatening, but crucial to the narrative in that Olof's expertise in riding the log through the wild rapids (Fig. 3) functions as the focal point which is intended to win the favour of Kyllikki. Stiller followed with *Johan* (1921) in which the river again plays a vital and symbolic role in the narrative by dividing the two different lives the wife leads with her farmer husband and the charismatic stranger. It has been mentioned, however, that 'Stiller seems unprofitably confined by a dramatic

convention which allows the natural elements so large a part in the play of human passions'.[63]

Similar as some of the adaptations of literary peasant dramas may appear in style, there were marked differences in Sjöström's and Stiller's views on film ontology regarding their approaches to the original sources. Whereas Sjöström found artistry in literal interpretations, Stiller felt that literature and film were two separate mediums; in order to be cinematic, film must avoid the 'stodginess' of literary passages and privilege action and movement. As an author, Lagerlöf's implicit faith in Sjöström's ability to visualise her work did not extend to Stiller; the extent to which Selma Lagerlöf entrusted Sjöström with her writings was equalled by her distrust of Stiller's handling of her work, in particular, the 'dramatic licence' he took with *Gunnar Hedes saga* and *Gösta Berlings saga.*[64] *Herr Arnes pengar* and particularly *Gunnar Hedes saga* and *Gösta Berlings saga* are all films which Stiller freely adapted from Lagerlöf's works, writing the scripts and changing key elements. Her displeasure with the excessive liberties she felt had been taken in Stiller's adaptations was widely known, and although Stiller's *Herr Arnes pengar* could be considered an artistic success and was quite faithful to Lagerlöf's *Herr Arnes penningar*, Lagerlöf criticised his later two films. Her indignation at his adaptation of *En Herrgårdssägen* in which he freely changed important elements and the setting, renaming it *Gunnar Hedes saga*, caused Lagerlöf to resist any further association with Stiller, asking Magnusson to assign another director for the adaptation of her most famous work, *Gösta Berlings saga*.

Although perhaps more adept at directing sophisticated comedies, Stiller had now become identified more closely with the nationalistic themes of Selma Lagerlöf. Unsuccessful in her attempts to have him replaced, Lagerlöf was distressed by the many blatant deviations from her novel found in Stiller's two finished films of *Gösta Berlings saga*, which linked together the novel's dramatic events resulting in a decidedly episodic structure. While finding weakness in the logic of its

narrative, one contemporary reviewer nonetheless found *Gösta Berlings saga* to be a great work of film art which could surely restore praise to the Swedish cinema, its dwindling status being much discussed both within film circles as well as outside.[65]

Along with Sjöström and Stiller, Georg af Klercker also began his directorial career at Svenska Bio. Charles Magnusson appointed him the head of Svenska Bio's studios at Lidingö, and it was here that Klercker directed the first 6 of his 33 films. The remaining 27 were completed at Hasselblad in Gothenburg, where he headed the studios from 1915-1917 after leaving Svenska Bio. He is the only director of the four who was employed by several different production companies, including a brief period with Pathé in Paris.

Considered by film scholars to have directed films which did not reach the same level as those of Sjöström and Stiller, Georg af Klercker is a director who had long remained quite unknown outside of Sweden. This hesitancy could, in part, be due to the fact that Klercker's favoured subject matter was melodramas, thrillers, and detective films, although visually these films are stylishly and innovatively directed. In 1986 the Giornate del Cinema Muto festival chose to present the majority of Klercker's extant films as part of a major retrospective of Swedish and Danish silent cinema, although he was excluded from their even larger 1999 retrospective 'Nordic Explorations: Into the Twenties' in which films from Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Sweden were screened, the latter being heavily represented by Sjöström and Stiller. *Fången på Karlstens fästning* was the sole Klercker film to be shown at the Centre Pompidou in Paris as part of its 1990 retrospective of Nordic film, which presented nearly 100 years of film by each of the five Nordic countries. In addition to the one Klercker film and one film by Brunius, five of Sjöström's films and eight of Stiller's were selected to represent the Swedish silent cinema. In Peter Cowie's publication prepared for the Centre Pompidou retrospective, Klercker is acknowledged as being a 'major talent' who might have ranked with Sjöström and Stiller had he

worked in conjunction with them in Stockholm, rather than independently in Gothenburg.[66] Certainly, one can but reflect on Klercker's remarkable visual sensibilities in the service of the more literary material preferred by Svenska Bio. Georg af Klercker has also been the subject of a retrospective at the Nordische Filmtage in Lübeck in November 1995, in which eleven of his films were screened. This festival had also previously shown his film *Nattliga toner* as part of its series of films entitled 'Rediscovered' in 1993.

As a result of the above-mentioned exposure, Klercker and his films have appeared as the subject of analysis in recent critical literature.[67] Ingmar Bergman's rather recent play about Georg af Klercker entitled *Sista skriket*, which premiered in Stockholm in February 1993, has also resulted in increased interest in Klercker and his films. However promising this may appear, Klercker continues to be a marginal figure in discussions of early European cinema. According to Astrid Söderbergh Widding in her recent book *Stumfilm i brytningstid: stil och berättande i Georg af Klerckers filmer*, which analyses Klercker's style and narrative form, expectations for a much hoped-for stimulation of interest in Klercker and the Swedish cinema in general among scholars have not as yet been met. [68]

John W. Brunius was a less significant figure during these years, but nonetheless, the director of several important films. When Hasselblad was incorporated into Skandia in 1918, Brunius replaced Klercker as chief director. His films endeavoured to express national elements and Brunius's early films continued the strong literary tradition by directing the following films drawn from the works of four Nobel Prize winners: Bjørnson's *Synnöve Solbakken* (1919) and *Ett farligt frieri* (1919), Henrik Pontoppidan's *Thora van Deken* (1920), Karl Gjellerup's *Kvarnen* (1921) and Knut Hamsun's *Hårda viljor* (1923). He is more widely known for his monumental costume dramas of the mid- to late 1920s which often had historical military themes and featured large casts of extras. Brunius's strong theatrical background was found

to be somewhat of a hindrance, however, in that these films were often criticised as being 'filmed plays' lacking in cinematic imagination, a reproach which also indicates the marked changes in film representation which had taken place from the theatrical Strindberg adaptation of *Fadern* in 1912 to the varied, cinematic approaches displayed by the mid-1920s.

Any discussion regarding formal and stylistic issues in Swedish cinema must include John Fullerton's significant and highly influential work *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film 1912-1920*.[69] Fullerton identifies a specific system of representation in Swedish films in which film discourse in the mid- and late 1910s privileged pro-filmic space over the narrative space emphasised in Hollywood films. Swedish narrative is linked to the aesthetics, and dramatic power is achieved in the figures' relation to their setting, as in *Ingeborg Holm*. Strong, inner tensions are created around people and their encounter with and reaction to their surroundings. The environment plays a vital role in resonating human emotions. Particularly in the adaptations of Lagerlöf's peasant dramas, the farmers in these dramas make their living from the land, but nature can also be harsh and temperamental. This serves both as plot motivation and reflects characters' motivations through feelings and emotions. In Sjöström's films of the late 1910s and early 1920s, dramatic transitions are conveyed through the use of numerous shots and titles within a sequence. The modulated acting expresses pieces of narrative information which are built from the series of subtle exchanges between the actors, which allows a more nuanced understanding of the plot structure.

Frame stories are rare, and one of the most notable uses of it, in Stiller's *Vingarne* (1916), was considered unsuccessful by both critics and the public. The use of flashbacks, however, is found very often in Swedish films during this period. Sjöström devised some of the most intricate examples of flashback sequences in *Körkarlen*, including a

potentially confusing flashback and flashforward within a flashback which was executed completely without ambiguity. His film *Karin Ingmarsdotter*, also from 1920, includes a very rare example of a flashback which is, in reality, a sequence from his film of the previous year, *Ingmarssönerna*; as these two films were part of the intended *Jerusalem* cycle, *Karin Ingmarsdotter* is considered a 'sequel' to the earlier film although the character of Brita does not reappear other than in the flashback. Another significant device used in *Karin Ingmarsdotter* is Lill-Ingmar's humorous comment to the camera, which acknowledges the spectator through direct address. This narrative device is also found at the conclusion of Sjöström's *Hans Nåds testamente* (1919) as well as at the end of Brunius's *Gyurkovicsarna* (1920).

In general, intertitles appear frequently and the text of each is quite lengthy. Expository intertitles tend to be used to a greater extent than those containing dialogue. In *Sången om den eldröda blomman*, the intertitles function to convey lyricism; the film is divided into seven parts which are denoted through stanzas of poetic verse. *Terje Vigen* is unique in its use of selected lines from Ibsen's poem of the same name as intertitles, lending added veracity through the use of the original, untranslated Norwegian text.

Swedish cinema during these years displayed a pictorial style which privileged mise en scène and spatial orientation, giving priority to the organisation of pro-filmic space. This emphasis began to decrease towards the late 1910s with the appearance of more reverse-angle cutting, but remained important in comparison with Hollywood films. The preference for shooting exteriors on location suited the peasant films in particular, depicting both generous and barren landscapes. The natural world is seen as one of imposing but often inimical landscapes in which there is careful integration of characters and landscape.

Cities figure very rarely in Sjöström's films; they are occasionally found in the films of Stiller, but are seen to dominate in the films of Georg af Klercker. The varied sections of Gothenburg and its rooftops

and trams were very often the settings for his films. He used exteriors from the different areas in order to denote class distinctions; there are likewise class indicators found in Klercker's interior sets, such as his preference for bourgeois interiors with heavy furniture and curtains, paintings, and elaborate lamps. These would invariably be contrasted with shabby lower-class interiors often housing criminals or destitute individuals.

The lighting in interior scenes was usually motivated with the source emanating from one major direction; this was often from one side only, the actual or suggested source of which was a door or window. During these years, the directors took advantage of available light, that is, diffused sunlight through the glass walls of the film studio, and could manipulate the direction of sunlight above the front of the set. In the mid-1910s there was a tendency towards the use of more arc lights. Different parts of the set were unevenly lit, as light from diffused daylight and arc lights would face into areas further back which could be quite dim. Staging had to take lighting into account in order to have the actors' faces properly illuminated. The use of backlighting had not yet become a common practice at this time. Films in the early 1920s continued to have interior scenes lit with diffused daylight, usually with additional artificial lighting as well. Special lighting effects can also be found occasionally, as in *Ingmarssönerna*; as the imprisoned Brita writes a letter to Ingmar regarding her emigration plans, the sunlight slowly follows a path poetically across the wall of her cell (Fig. 4).

The numerous shots of exterior scenes were lit with available sunlight. Ingmar Bergman has commented that as director, Sjöström creating plasticity by sculpturing figures with light; in addition, the performances of Harriet Bosse and Victor Sjöström in *Ingmarssönerna* created a greater feeling of sensitivity by acting away from the light rather than towards the sunlight in the scene of their reunion (Fig. 5).[70] An important exception in the use of available light are the exterior shots in *Körkarlen* of night scenes which involved double exposure; in

this instance, the use of artificial lighting was dominant. In isolated cases, extreme low-key lighting is found, most strikingly in Klercker's films. Lighting and composition are salient aspects of his style, serving to propel the narrative while self-consciously calling attention to themselves. Examples of innovative uses of both can be seen in *Fången på Karlstens fästning*, a Hasselblad film from 1916. Lighting both indoors and outdoors is effectively conceived, in particular, the scenes filmed at the castle; the silhouetted figures and projected images on the walls are extremely well-executed for 1916, as is the innovative use of torchlight in the narrow passage in the castle (Fig. 6).

Deep-space composition is a dominant characteristic found in both interior and exterior shots. The ubiquitous presence of landscape afforded ample opportunities for numerous examinations of spatial relationships between human beings and nature. Most commonly, the grandeur of nature was emphasised as was its ability to dwarf the presence of man and diminish his importance, effectively rendered using broad vistas of hills, valleys, and lakes.

Sjöström's use of staging displays complex spatial relationships and retains plasticity and dramatic intensity through staging in depth without the use of close-ups, evidenced as early as 1913 in *Ingeborg Holm*. This film makes pervasive use of long takes with developed acting sequences, blocking and revealing characters which are often layered in single shots. This device is often motivated by one or more figures entering and exiting. This common use of deep sets with staging in depth required creative and precise use of framing. Doorways created divisions of scenic space, thus creating different planes within a single shot.

The important role of mirrors in Swedish film cannot be understated. Astrid Söderbergh Widding discusses the stylistic-symbolic unity found in the use of mirrors as a doubling device.[71] One finds a notable use of mirrors to broaden pro-filmic space behind the camera and on either side, and the inscription of off-screen space in *Kärleken*

segrar (1916) in which the mirror additionally symbolises the protagonist's double life. In *Mysteriet natten till den 25:e* (1917), the mirror is used in a realistic way to reveal themes of duplicity. In both films, the mirror is a fundamental part of the diegesis, and is an effective means of conveying narrative information without the need for different camera set-ups or shot/reverse-angle shot. This can be seen as a chosen response to the problem of a foreground plane crowded with characters shot in *plan américain*, and as an alternative to analytical cutting. The mirror is used as a self-revelatory device in *Sången om den eldröda blomman*; Olof glances in the mirror and upon seeing his reflection, experiences what he perceives to be a revelation about his indelicate nature and flawed character.

The contemporary theatrical acting style in 1910 showed a tendency towards restraint and naturalism; Gustaf Linden was a practitioner of this fashion on the stage, although he somehow felt compelled to demand broader gestures of his actors when filming, a surprising choice when one considers the greater intimacy of the film medium.[72] The gestural rhetoric of the early 1910s had been replaced by the mid- to late 1910s by modulated performances. Figures were filmed with much greater sensitivity and a sympathetic handling of the actors was demonstrated. In particular, there was increased emphasis on displaying introspective moods and creating a psychologically intimate portrait. In general, the actors were encouraged towards subtle portrayals, as evidenced in their controlled, slow mannerisms and understated gestures.

Swedish films have long been renowned for their displays of innovative technical expertise and photographic excellence. When discussing the various elements which constitute Swedish film style, the consistent presence of the cinematographer Julius Jaenzon as the photographer of nearly all of Sjöström's and Stiller's films must be considered. His technical brilliance and artistry can be observed in the delicate, diffused light present in his luminous renderings of nature and

landscape as well as the outstanding technical achievements of artificial lighting and double exposure in *Körkarlen.*

Prior to the mid-1910s, a preference for frontal presentation and compositional symmetry was consistently found. Spatial construction was relatively static with relatively few changes in camera angle or shot scale. The Swedish cinema privileged mise en scène and staging in depth, thus the long take was preferred to rapid editing. Sharp focus on all planes was desirable, with inserts and the relatively few close-ups having a shallow depth of field. There was a prevalent use of remarkable deep-focus photography in order to achieve complex composition within a single shot; by the late 1910s, however, there was an increasing breakdown of space through editing.

Jaenzon's long takes displayed Sjöström's preference for lingering extra long shots of majestic landscape. Stiller used fewer extra long shots, preferring closer shot scales. In general, shot scales were composed primarily of long shots and to a lesser degree medium long shots, with a small number of medium shots. Sjöström became known for his long, clear, expressive close-ups, as in *Körkarlen*. Framing could also create a tremendous sense of tension. Several examples of objects invading the frame are the English boat in *Terje Vigen* and the floating log in *Karin Ingmarsdotter*.

Georg af Klercker used relatively few and uniform shot scales; regarding camera movement, Klercker preferred very limited movement within single rooms. His films also evidence rather static spatial compositions, with only rare instances of changes in camera angle. Stiller's use of camera was much more mobile than Sjöström's, as seen in the early escape sequence in Stiller's *Herr Arnes pengar*; this well-executed combination of camera movement and editing created a dynamic element which was merely alluded to in Lagerlöf's story. Parallel tracking shots can be found in *Herr Arnes pengar*, but are generally uncommon in Swedish film. A rare subjective use of camera movement can be found in *Dunungen*, reflecting the character's state of

intoxication; this is not, however, a point-of-view shot, but rather a long shot of the man taken with a gently rocking camera (Figs. 7, 8). Split-screen effects were very rare and when used, they were chosen as an alterative to cross-cutting; this device functioned primarily to convey telephone conversations, as in Klercker's *Fången på Karlstens fästning*.

As mentioned earlier, it is generally agreed that editing in Swedish films plays a secondary role to the pro-filmic space of the mise en scène as a narrative construction. It was the responsibility of directors to cut their own films at this time, and a generally consistent use of slow editing prevailed, with Stiller's films showing a preference for slightly quicker editing. Stiller is considered to have possessed a vivid, technically innovative flair, using contrasting shots which create a relatively faster pace. Editing could also be used judiciously to emphasise dramatic occurrences, as in *Tösen från Stormyrtorpet*, but in general, the inconspicuous editing found in Sjöström's films, coupled with the pervasive use of long takes and controlled acting, contribute to their reputation as being solemn and stately.

Cuts across 180 degree line were not infrequent, as evidenced in films such as *Nattens barn* (1916), *Tösen från Stormyrtorpet* (1917), and *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* (1918); Bo Florin discusses in detail the eighteen instances found in *Körkarlen.*[73] *Tösen från Stormyrtorpet* in particular was also quite exceptional in its early use of rapid cutting and analytical editing, and does not follow the preferred pattern of long takes and inconspicuous cutting. A key stylistic issue was the progression from compositional blocking and revealing in single shots to the scenic breakdown with editing, which involved reliance on maintaining screen direction and eyeline matches. Dissolves were common, often functioning to denote parallel actions. One also finds by the late 1910s an increased use of character subjectivity through the use of reverse angles and point-of-view shots.

2.3 The German Film, 1919-1926: Mode of Production, Themes, Narrative Form, and Stylistic Systems

This section addresses the divergent modes of production within both Ufa and less prominent film companies during the years delineated. The prevalent themes of the quality productions at that time are also evaluated and the Expressionist cinema as well as several other films genres are discussed. Finally, an assessment of stylistic devices and systems which created a specific system of representation in Germany are presented.

2.3.1 German Film Industry and Mode of Production

Unlike the output of Swedish films which to an overwhelming extent was comprised of the work of only three directors, Sjöström, Stiller, and Klercker, the German film industry employed many directors of varying abilities who were responsible for numerous films of diverse artistic quality for public consumption. The German market was dominated by light comedies, serials, romances, melodramas, and detective stories but the vast majority of popular films have been forgotten. It is the 'quality' films created with artistic intention, often produced by Decla-Bioscop, the artistic unit of Universum-Film AG (Ufa), for which the Weimar cinema of the 1920s is well known; perhaps *so* well known that studies of the Wilhelmine cinema which preceded it have been absent until quite recently with the advent of New Film History.

With the notable exceptions of Stellan Rye's *Der Student von Prag* from 1913 with Paul Wegener in the title role, and to a lesser extent, Wegener again as *Der Golem* from the following year with himself and Henrik Galeen as co-directors, Wilhelmine films have long been considered to be imitations of foreign films, with no unifying national distinctions. The two recent collections of essays, which serve as a corrective in part through close examination of newly 'discovered' films,

are Thomas Elsaesser (ed.), *A Second Life. German Cinema's First Decades* and Paolo Cherchi Usai and Lorenzo Codelli (eds.), *Before Caligari: German Cinema, 1895-1920*.[74] In order to understand better the state of German film during the Wilhelmine years prior to Murnau's first directorial position in 1919, a short background of one of the early film companies is presented below.

It is due to the work of the recent revisionist historians that the work of Oskar Messter is now being examined more closely.[75] As well as being perhaps the leading film producer before the War with his company Messters Projektion, he was also an inventor. As early as 1897 he had already built machines for recording and projecting films, and by 1904 he had developed a projector linked with a gramophone, producing films known as *Tonbilder* (sound pictures). Messter's use of artificial light sources was among the first in the world. Messters Projektion became successful outside Germany with the addition of the actress Henny Porten, who was subsequently moulded into an extremely popular commodity by the company. Both Henny Porten and Emil Jannings had contracts with Messter in 1911 and 1914, respectively, and made many films primarily for domestic audiences. In general, Messter's films in the early 1910s could be categorised as either melodramas or social dramas. Porten had a multiple year contract in which she was to play the female lead role in at least ten films per year.[76] Her image as Germany's first cinema 'star' was used by Messter to promote German national interests during the war and she starred in several short films and made personal appearances in Berlin on behalf of the war effort.[77] Both Porten and Jannings became tremendously successful internationally during the following decade. German film in the 1910s was also shaped substantially by the personality of the Danish actress Asta Nielsen. She and her husband, the Danish director Urban Gad, had arrived in Berlin in 1911 and she continued to work in German films through the late 1920s.

With financial success, Messters Projektion was able to incorporate the 'Monopolfilm' distribution system. Rather than selling film prints, the company could sell the right of exhibition for a specified time and place, which kept future exploitation of the films and their profits firmly under Messter's control.[78] Unique at this time was the organisation of the Messter firm as not only a vertically integrated company, but as a horizontally integrated company. Its diversification included mechanical equipment, patents, and film production, the latter ranging from the use of film as fiction films and newsreels, as a scientific and medical tool, and for military purposes as, for example, reconnaissance equipment.[79] During the War, Messter's sizeable holdings increased, and with the establishment of Ufa on 18 December 1917, Messter's production companies, distribution firms, workshops, and his cinema in the Mozartsaal were assumed by Ufa for a considerable sum.[80]

The creation of Ufa was a political one. By the third year of the War, the role that film could play as a tool in the war effort had already become apparent. On 19 November 1916, the Deutsche Lichtbild-Gesellschaft (DLG, known as Deulig-Film after the war) was formed at the initiative of the chairman of the Krupp board of directors, Alfred Hugenberg, in an attempt to 'take a hand in film politics during the war'.[81] Two months later in January 1917, the War Ministry's Office of Photo and Film (Bild- und Filmamt [Bufa]) was formed with the express intention of creating propaganda films. It has been stated by one film historian that Bufa's establishment 'involved not just a rationalisation and centralisation of efforts, but more importantly a new, "modern" pictorial language', as well as resulting in 'a distinct improvement in the filmic articulation', although the manner in which these evolutionary changes transpired is not sufficiently described.[82] What *is* clear is that Bufa played an integral role in the plan by numerous industrial firms headed by the Deutsche Bank to counteract Deulig's bid for dominance.

As the government's propaganda unit, Bufa was the primary component in the decision to create Ufa.

Ufa's formation by the German High Command was lead by Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff and was intended to 'produce films to counteract the efforts of the French and English and to achieve three additional goals: to aid the German High Command in carrying out military goals; to be an instrument for political influence abroad; and to be a defense against the propaganda activity of the enemy within Germany'.[83] Substantial government subsidies were therefore allocated for the production of large numbers of documentaries and newsreels, in addition to the increased output of feature films. Investments in Ufa were also made by industrial concerns and banks.

An increase in the production of films for domestic consumption was a high priority. The political situation during the War meant the exclusion of English, French, and most other film imports by 1916, which also extended to a ban on American films with the involvement of the United States in 1917. This ban on imports would continue until 31 December 1920. The German film industry therefore encountered minimal competition and filled the void in the domestic market with the production of numerous patriotic films, which, towards the end of the war, were replaced increasingly by detective and criminal films which catered to more popular tastes. Germany also actively imported films from Sweden and Denmark, both neutral during the war, which in turn created strong ties between these three countries.

The shortage of films intended for the domestic market gave rise to a number of small production companies. Due to competition within the various branches of the industry, steps were immediately taken after Ufa's creation to solidify its strength through a merger of leading companies such as Messter, Nordisk, and Projektions A.G. Union (PAGU), with PAGU's director Paul Davidson as Ufa's first Head of Production.[84] By obtaining the Messter company for 5.3 million marks, Ufa also gained acquisition of important film equipment and machinery

companies. Oskar Messter was also hired as technical adviser. In acquiring Nordisk for nearly twice that amount, Ufa now owned Oliver Film, which was Nordisk's German production studio, the cinemas previously owned by Nordisk, and the extensive distribution organisation Nordische Filmgesellschaft (later to become Universum-Filmverleih) which included rights to Nordisk productions in numerous European countries. Majority ownership of Paul Davidson's Union company brought with it fifty-six cinemas and rights to the Vitascope division. It was ultimately this strong base, incorporating all three distinct aspects of the film industry (production, distribution, and exhibition) which allowed Ufa as a vertically integrated firm to dominate all aspects of German film for many years to come.

Historically, Ufa's overwhelming position as Germany's leading film company has understandably made it synonymous with German quality film production, despite its greatest strength during the 1920s being distribution rather than production. With the sale after the war of the government's holdings in Ufa to Deutsche Bank and others, Ufa became a privatised company in 1921. The change in Ufa's organisational structure was slight, but lack of government financing now required that Ufa adopt a more competitive strategy.[85] The wealth of this politically conservative company in Babelsberg allowed for 'more extravagant productions and greater advances in film art', qualities which have traditionally been deemed positive by historians.[86] These same qualities proved to be equally popular with the public and with vast resources at its disposal, Ufa was able to assemble a company of 'star' actors and actresses. Personalities such as Asta Nielsen, Pola Negri, and Emil Jannings from Davidson's Union, and Henny Porten and Viggo Larsen from Messter, were strong draws and became household names. From Union, Ufa had also acquired Ernst Lubitsch and Paul Wegener, two directors who had quickly attained 'star' status with the public. These two men with unique directorial styles were early

examples of a certain individualism in Weimar film which would cause it to be regarded historically as an 'auteur' cinema.

The most prominent producer to be mentioned in connection with German art film is Erich Pommer. A former distribution agent at Gaumont and later Eclair, he founded Deutsche Eclair (Decla) in the mid-1910s. Decla merged with Bioscop in March 1920, making Pommer's newly formed Decla-Bioscop AG the second largest company after Ufa. When Decla-Bioscop joined with Ufa in November 1921, it was intended as Ufa's artistic production unit and under Pommer's supervision, this studio produced many of the art films with which the Weimar cinema is identified. Most importantly for the German film industry, films such as *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* were extremely successful internationally and earned valuable foreign currency while still being relatively inexpensive to produce.

Pommer became responsible for Ufa's entire production division in 1923, with the goal of producing films of the highest possible technical and artistic standards. Under Pommer's leadership at Decla and Ufa, a remarkably innovative and creative group of artists were gathered, such as set architects Hermann Warm, Robert Herlth, and Walter Röhrig and cameramen Fritz Arno Wagner and Karl Freund. The unique union of superior technical knowledge and numerous artistic innovations resulted in Ufa's relatively sizable production budgets being used to great advantage in the early 1920s. Pommer promoted a mode of production known as the director-unit system, in which the responsibility for a film's creation lay with the individual director. The director was given the power to assemble an artistic and technical group of collaborators particularly suited to the film in question, and through this system, Pommer sought to encourage fruitful collaboration amongst the director and the writers, cameramen, and set designers. Ufa as well as numerous small companies in Germany granted directors more responsibility in determining the choices made during production, a marked contrast to Hollywood's central producer system firmly

established by 1914 in which the producer maintained full control of studio production rather than the director.

Pommer saw German product differentiation in terms of the division between the art cinema (künstlerische Film) encompassing the stylised films and the *Großfilme* intended for international export, and the popular comedies, thrillers, and escapist fare intended to fill the increasing domestic demand for new films. Although the Pommer-led studios of Decla-Bioscop and Ufa accounted for a majority of the art films, they were, of course, not the only studios producing art films in Germany. Numerous small studios abounded, amongst them Rex-Film GmbH studios which was built in 1912 and owned by the director Lupu Pick. Pick was to direct two of the most important art films of the early 1920s, *Scherben* (1921) and *Sylvester* (1923), by which time there were over three hundred film production companies operating concurrently with the Ufa studios.

The concentration of Ufa studios which would become known as the film centre Babelsberg began as early as 1911 with the building of the first of the spacious 'glass houses' in Neubabelsberg by the company Deutsche Bioscop. These were large enough to allow for several films to be shot simultaneously, and were equipped with such features as revolving platforms in order to exploit the available sunlight. The light could also be carefully controlled by means of hanging opaque blinds and curtains. Due to the inflationary situation in Germany in the early 1920s, decisions were made to invest in the expansion of production companies and land holdings. New studios were built or enlarged and Ufa expanded the already large studios at Tempelhof and Neubabelsberg. This expansion became prohibitive with the stabilisation of the mark at the end of the inflationary era in 1924, but the studios were by this time extremely well equipped and Ufa could be considered the most advanced centre of film production in Europe. With the finest of facilities, Ufa studios were easily rented out to English and French

production companies anxious to produce films to rival those of the Americans.

2.3.2 Themes, Narrative Form, and Stylistic Systems in German Film

One of the earliest and most significant developments of the German cinema was the *Autorenfilm* (authors' film), which was similar to the *film d'art* in France which had gained favour slightly earlier. Films such as Max Mack's *Der Andere* (1912), and Max Reinhardt's *Eine venezianische Nacht* and *Die Insel der Seligen* (both from 1913), were referred to as examples of the *Autorenfilm* for the reason that they were based on established literary works, stage plays, and also original screenplays by famous authors. This was a short-lived trend, which can be seen as an effort to bring legitimacy and higher status to the film industry, which at that time was shunned to a great extent by the educated classes in Germany, as well as writers, actors, and directors working in the theatre. Paolo Cherchi Usai and Lorenzo Codelli have stressed that an important avenue of inquiry would be 'to understand the profound reasons for the contempt towards the cinema expressed by official German culture in the 1910s and to know why this contempt was greater there than elsewhere'.[87] Interestingly, Heide Schlüpmann states that whereas the *Autorenfilm* in Wilhelminian Germany was generally favoured by a small, discriminating segment of the population, Italian film epics which were imported, such as *Quo Vadis?,* were enthusiastically received by both intellectuals and the masses.[88] The intention of creating an art cinema was in the end successful in that interest in the film medium was increasingly shown by prominent stage actors and directors.

It was with the *Autorenfilm* that German cinema gained the distinction of dealing seriously with supernatural issues, as in *Das fremde Mädchen* (1913) written by Hugo von Hofmannsthal. The most famous German film produced in that year was *Der Student von Prag*, a

'Doppelgänger' story directed by the Danish director Stellan Rye, but equated much more with the Reinhardt actor Paul Wegener, whose numerous contributions during the making of the film have led many to consider him the co-director. Wegener was partial to the fantasy genre and was both director and actor in *Der Golem* (Bioscop, 1914) as well as the more famous Ufa remake made in 1920, which is usually included in the broader canon of 'Expressionist' films.

It has been stated that even in the earlier thrillers and serials produced between 1915 and 1920, an emphasis on supernatural themes allows one to be able to distinguish German films from those produced concurrently in other countries. There can be a tendency to project traits onto these films which stem from the historical advantage the writer has in the knowledge that Expressionist films were to follow. Henri Langlois mentions that when compared to serials or thrillers produced elsewhere in Europe or the United States, the German films such as *Homunculus* (1916), *Die Herrin der Welt* (1919), or *Das Indische Grabmal* (1921) exhibit overwhelming tendencies towards 'philosophical and social fantasy' which 'reveal a taste for the supernatural that foreshadows the future'.[89] Indeed, supernatural themes have been applied to the German silent cinema in general, although associated particularly with film expressionism. Kristin Thompson has drawn comparisons between fantasy films of the 1910s and those of the 1920s and has found the ties as to thematic elements and stylistic devices to be closer than previously thought. In addition, the earlier films form a background set of stylistic and generic conventions through which even greater understanding of the well-known canon of Expressionist films can be achieved.[90] Narratives often incorporated elements of Gothic fantasy and horror and were invariably set in spatial and temporal domains which were detached from the present, often in exotic settings taking place in various ages in the past. In films with fantastic or supernatural inclinations, an alienated or vulnerable individual is often

depicted, at times mentally unstable, and oppressed by tyrannical or supernatural powers.

Although these themes are closely associated with German art films of this era, Elsaesser states the additional existence of numerous oedipal narratives in which a woman is the cause of confrontations between an older and younger man. In particular, he mentions *Der Student von Prag,* Murnau's *Phantom, Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler, Varieté,* and *Die Büchse der Pandora*. He further identifies examples from Murnau's films such as the vampire in *Nosferatu* as the 'father', and an example of the 'other' as the brother disguised as a monk in *Schloß Vogelöd.*[91] Another more obvious example of such a conflict would, of course, be found in *Der Gang in die Nacht*.

Framing devices are prevalent in German films of this period. *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*'s lack of an authoritative narrator in the embedded story of Francis as Caligari's adversary is further complicated by the fact that the frame story indicates that the film itself is being narrated by Francis, the inmate of a mental asylum under the direction of Dr. Caligari. Therefore, the reliability of a narrative related by an insane inmate is additionally in question. The use of Expressionist mise en scène to depict the subjective state of an individual character was surprisingly rarely used to propel the narrative, although its effective use in *Caligari* is often mentioned in the critical literature. Lang's *Der müde Tod* reveals a young woman's vain attempts to save her lover from Death. The three candles symbolise her opportunities and thwarted efforts and are illustrated by three different embedded narratives set in the Arabian Nights, the Venetian Renaissance, and Ancient China. *Nosferatu* uses the rather subtle framing device of text inserts in the form of a chronicle, with the story which is being related taking the form of a flashback which is intercepted by additional chronicle text inserts. *Tartüff* has a frame story set in the present in which a young man warns his grandfather about his greedy housekeeper. Molière's play from 1664 is reduced to the basic conflict between the three main characters of

Tartüff, Elmire, and Orgon, and becomes the inner-story which serves to illustrate the grandson's fears. Dupont's 1925 film *Varieté* features a conventional use of the frame story. The prisoner Boss Huller, being summoned to a hearing, explains to the judge the circumstances under which he committed murder. This becomes the inner story and the film concludes by returning to the frame story and the subsequent release of Huller from prison.

As previously mentioned, the vast majority of films which were produced during the Weimar period were relatively lightweight productions such as melodramas, operetta-based films, comedies, and detective stories, all of which were intended for a domestic audience. Films from the Weimar cinema commonly referred to today in historical writing are considered products of an art cinema which gained significant recognition and critical reception outside Germany, primarily in France, England, and the United States. These quality films are normally classified in the critical literature as belonging to the following film movements or groupings: historical costume spectacles closely identified with Lubitsch, the canon of Expressionist films with which Fritz Lang, rightly or wrongly, is usually grouped, the *Kammerspiel* films, the *Neue Sachlichkeit* of which Pabst is a primary figure, and the *Bergfilme* (mountain films) of Arnold Fanck. A closer look at these categories shows a broad variance of stylistic factors with a general congruence of traits within each of the groups, but first some general comments can be made.

When one examines the body of German films during this period, it is clear than relatively little emphasis is given to editing or even cinematography. It was rather the various elements of the mise en scène which worked together to create a completely integrated composition. Set design and costumes were, therefore, of the utmost importance and the status of the set designer grew significantly, with collaborations between director and set designer not uncommon. The idea for Arthur Robison's *Schatten* (1923), for example, was conceived by the painter

Albin Grau, who was also responsible for creating the set design and costumes. The use of sketches to illustrate a shooting script had by this time become a common method in Germany to aid directors and set designers in determining the look of the film prior to shooting. An example of collaboration of this sort is Jessner's *Hintertreppe*, in which Paul Leni's designs comprise such an integral part of the film that he is considered the co-director. Leni was primarily interested in set design and preferred the creative preliminary stages of sketching and drawing to the work with set builders on the actual construction.

It is precisely this strong emphasis on set design and construction which has substantially formed the basis of the accepted historical view of German film. References to the Weimar cinema being 'studio bound' with a strong preference for the use of constructed sets and controlled lighting are numerous, with Murnau's *Nosferatu* typically cited as the one lone exception. Helmut Färber mentions early Scandinavian films as well as American films as prominent examples of early 'Pleinair-Filme', with Murnau's early films and Fanck's mountain films being the two German exceptions during this period to display a strong preference by directors for location shooting.[92] In the late 1910s there were numerous German films such as Leni's *Dornröschen* (1917) which used obviously constructed sets for interiors, with the exteriors shot entirely on location amongst castle walls and in natural surroundings (Fig. 9). By the early 1920s, however, there were indeed very few German films made with artistic intention which were not either chiefly or wholly reliant on the use of designed and constructed sets.

Depth staging was prevalent in German films, with spaces usually defined by a doorway or arch. In many films, such as Richard Oswald's *Der ewige Zweifel* (1917/18), one is struck by the quite static staging and use of a centrally framed door as the source of entrances and exits. Oswald abandoned this the following year in *Anders als die andern*, which favoured much shallower staging and shorter takes. Imaginative uses of blocking to serve the narrative, such as in the farmhouse scene

in *Der brennende Acker*, can also be found by the early 1920s. There was a certain amount of frontality in the late 1910s as even evidenced in Lubitsch's *Kohlhiesels Töchter* (1920), but as staging became more intricate after the early 1920s, the use of frontal staging began to fade.

The tremendous care taken in the design and construction of sets was reflected in often quite sensitive staging to accentuate the sets. The tonality and design of the costumes generally contributed to the overall unity. The often-cited examples from *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* of the black-clad Cesare stretched along the painted wall or his posture and outstretched arms echoing the forms of the bare winter branches in the stylised forest are perhaps the most well-known, but a clear emphasis on pictorial composition in general pervades in the strong sense of figure and set integration in staging. Figure behaviour was slowly paced and gestural at times. A common recurring gesture was the claw-like hand seen in films as diverse as *Hintertreppe*, *Orlacs Hände* (Fig. 10), and *Metropolis*. The raised fist to express outrage, which ranged from an individual gesture to a throng of fists in large crowd scenes, was associated particularly with expressionist figure behaviour, as were wild eyes and contorted body postures.

The common source of lighting for German interiors in the 1910s was daylight controlled with blinds, and although controlled studio lighting soon became the preferred source, even 1920s interiors were frequently lit with overhead diffused sunlight which was regulated with curtains. Spotlights and arc floodlights were used to light the front and sides of the set from the base, which accentuated and at times exaggerated the set's outline and relief surfaces. Visible sources of light in interiors were often hanging lamps; in most cases these were props rather than true 'effects' lighting in which the light actually emanates from a source within the scene. To compensate, the set was often lit in a rather uniform manner with arc footlights. In staging favouring frontality, these rudimentary lighting techniques tended to flatten out facial features and expressions, and did not correspond realistically to

the light sources visible in the set. Backlighting was not generally used in Germany until the early 1920s, with instances of halo lighting and silhouetting found in Murnau's *Schloß Vogelöd* and *Der brennende Acker* respectively; backlighting as an expressive device still appeared rather infrequently until it gained wider acceptance in the latter part of the decade.

The popular German costume films produced between 1919 and 1924 were opulent and expensive Ufa productions modelled closely on not only earlier Italian epic films, but also the Hollywood costume dramas of Griffith and DeMille. Films of this genre usually took place in exotic settings, were set in the past, and featured massive crowd scenes. These historical spectacles were extremely expensive to produce and even though countries such as Sweden, France, and England managed to produce a small number of features of this magnitude, epic films requiring such an exorbitant budget had only been possible to finance in Hollywood. With inflation and the new devaluation of the mark, Germany was able to construct elaborate sets and hire the hundreds of extras needed for the dynamic mass choreography normally required in these historical spectacles.

Ernst Lubitsch was by far the most important director of the historical costume spectacle as well as the most commercially successful. Films such as *Madame Dubarry* (1919), *Sumurun* (1920), and *Anna Boleyn* (1920) displayed the elaborate and monumental architecture, fastidious interiors which were ornately elegant and at times gaudy, lavish costuming, and large crowd scenes indicative of this genre. His irreverent approach to luxury, material excess, consumption, and waste also took the form of fanciful set designs, often containing ironic puns such as in *Sumurun*. Films such as *Die Puppe* (1919) and *Die Bergkatze* (1921), which are not historical spectacles, also display his imaginative and humorous use of playful, fairy-tale sets and superbly integrated costumes. Lubitsch's 1921 film *Das Weib des Pharao* was filmed in a studio which had recently been installed with

sophisticated lighting equipment, quite possibly brought in by Paramount during the company's use of Ufa's studios that same year. In this film, Lubitsch used light to create depth in crowd scenes thus making the crowd appear even denser[93], but he never displayed the preference for chiaroscuro of many other German directors.

The release of *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* in February 1920 is considered the inception of what is now known as the expressionist cinema, a short-lived movement which borrowed its name from movements in art, literature, and music. Expressionism's emphasis on expressing subjective emotional reality was represented in the cinema by the use of stylised graphic studio sets, which were often composed of constructed backdrops of canvas and wooden frames. The mise en scène of the Expressionist film lay at the core of its distinctiveness. The extreme, often angular sets and the exaggerated spatial dimensions took precedence over characterisation and narrative. With its distorted style borrowed from the Expressionist theatre, these films conveyed events of a fleeting nature, with no feeling of permanence. The externalised figure behaviour was both stilted and jerky; frequent broad, even frozen, gestures were emphasised and contrasted with abrupt thrusting motions to express inner torment. Actors blended in with the sets through the use of costuming and heavy makeup, and likewise the reverse; sets were created with the intention of conveying the subjective state of the character, while figure behaviour and costume echoed the graphic qualities of the sets, with the desired effect of both the stylised figures and sets blending into one living entity. This could also be achieved in various other ways, distortion and exaggeration being the most obvious and well-known characteristics, but symmetrical staging and graphic patterns were also used to blend in figures with their settings.

Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari was, of course, influential and a small number of other German dramas in the early 1920s derived inspiration from it in both theme and style. The commonly accepted

canon of films which is considered to be expressionistic includes such diverse films as Murnau's *Nosferatu* (1921/22), *Tartüff* (1925), and *Faust* (1926) and Lang's *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (1922) and *Metropolis* (1927). Numerous historians such as Bordwell, who broadly define what constitutes German Expressionist film, argue that these films' more subtle, stylised distortions perform the same function as the more overtly graphically distorted and exaggerated mise en scène of *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* and can therefore be classified as Expressionist films. This is a construct which Jürgen Kasten refutes in *Der expressionistische Film.* Kasten narrows severely the definition of what films may be considered expressionistic, excluding all but those which exhibit 'Caligaristic' features: *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (Robert Wiene, 1920), *Von Morgens bis Mitternachts* (Karl Heinz Martin, 1920), *Genuine* (Robert Wiene, 1920), *Das Haus zum Mond* (Karl Heinz Martin, 1921), *Torgus* (Hans Kobe, 1921), *Raskolnikow* (Robert Wiene, 1923) (Fig. 11), and *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett* (Paul Leni, 1924).[94] As for the case of *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* as an Expressionist film, the film's overt references within the narrative to Expressionism as a modernist trend serve to satirize the movement and its followers, and this sense of irony is therefore detached. In addition, by using Expressionist décor in a decorative manner, it is excluded from the way in which the mise en scène functions in the films listed above.

In his influential article 'From Caligari to who?'[95], Barry Salt also calls attention to the fact that of the films commonly referred to as Expressionist, the majority do *not* contain features of Expressionist style. He finds only six films which fit the strict criteria for inclusion as an Expressionist film; these echo Kasten's selections but exclude *Das Haus zum Mond* while Salt tentatively suggests the addition of Lang's *Metropolis* in the canon.[96] Kristin Thompson refers to Expressionism 'as a stylistic term applying to a general attempt to minimise the differences among the four aspects of mise-en-scène: lighting, costume, figure disposition and behaviour, and setting … [making] a single visual

material of these aspects; the result is an emphasis on overall composition'.[97] Given these criteria, Fritz Lang's two *Nibelungen* films should then incorrectly be deemed Expressionistic as both *Siegfried* (1923) and *Kriemhilds Rache* (1924) display full integration of theme, set design, costumes, and staging. Lang's epic is not always considered to be Expressionistic, although symmetrical human and architectural arrangements which are wholly integrated with the costumes and lighting are salient traits throughout.

Fritz Lang had originally been trained as an architect, and his films with mythological subjects, which include *Der müde Tod* (1921), the *Nibelungen* films *Siegfried* and *Kriemhilds Rache*, and *Metropolis* (1927), as well as his thriller *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (1921-22), all show Lang's emphasis on stylisation and the tremendous importance given to set design. One sees in the *Nibelungen* films and *Metropolis* the remarkable formal images obtained with figure behaviour, both rigid symmetrical patterns and organically undulating crowd scenes. These in turn reflect the monumental architecture and spatial elements which are so prominent in his films. This is seen in its most deftly simplified form in the towering wall in *Der müde Tod* in which the opening crevice exposes a long ascending staircase leading seemingly to infinity. More striking, perhaps, is the astounding technical achievement of *Siegfried*'s dragon and the huge cement and plaster trees which, through the use of sensitively structured lighting, were transformed into an ancient primeval forest (Fig. 12). This severe stylisation of the forest was an important component in retaining *Siegfried*'s stylistic unity; the decision not to film on location was made in order to avoid a jarring contrast with the rest of the film. Lighting in Lang's films was used to emphasis the line of architectural elements, creating remarkable effects in the *Nibelungen* films in particular in the use of visual representations and iconic references from sculpture and paintings. The smoke, lighting, and figure behaviour contribute to the image of Paul Richter as Siegfried, with the low camera angle creating a strong sculptural quality.[98] Eisner

considers this use of lighting, along with Lang's sensitivity to the plasticity of objects, to be his only two contributions to the language of Expressionist film.[99]

As regards the majority of those films which are usually included in the 'Expressionist' canon, Thomas Elsaesser notes that rather than primarily displaying expressionistic features, a diversity of styles can be identified:

> When viewing them with an art-historical eye, one notes many self-conscious references to several recognisable styles, as well as other more or less subtle forms of stylisation: German cinema across the genres presents an eclectic mixture of *Heimatkunst*, orientalism and ornamentalism à la mode, from Chinoiseries, 'Madame Butterfly' exoticism and Egyptian art, to African or Aztec colonial spoils, *Jugendstil* furnishings and Expressionist paintings, art deco interiors and even Bauhaus easy chairs.[100]

Elsaesser goes on to mention Leni's *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett*, Lang's two *Nibelungen* films, and Pabst's *Die Büchse der Pandora* as examples of films which borrow from the stage, children's book illustrations, and advertisements from ladies' journals, respectively. Elsaesser identifies the first Expressionist film as *Der Student von Prag* in that it 'embodies a key principle behind "Expressionist film" in general, not stylistic at all, but part of the periods' cultural politics: story and style are driven by the exigencies of developing and testing state-of-the-art film technology, not the other way round …'.[101]

The Expressionist films' predilection for light and shadow has also been considered to be indicative of the movement's ties to fine art. The low-key lighting and the shadows which are commonly linked so strongly to the broad grouping of Expressionist films have been seen as strong contrasts which replace the bright colours of Expressionist painting. Lighting in the strict canon of Expressionist films, however, was flat and rarely used in an expressive manner; more commonly, contrasts of light and dark were indicated by the painting of the backdrops and costumes to reproduce lighting effects. Scenes were lighted from the front and sides with the purpose of emphasising

similarities in the mise en scène between the figures and settings. Indeed, in general, all film techniques were subjugated in order to accentuate the Expressionist mise en scène. Examples of extreme light and shadow are found in the non-Expressionist films *Die Straße* (Karl Grune, 1923) and *Schatten* (Arthur Robison, 1923), in which shadows function to threaten or to create claustrophobia.

The term '*Kammerspiel*' (chamber play) is drawn from the name of the theatre Kammerspiele which Max Reinhardt opened in 1906 for the staging of his chamber dramas for a small audience in an intimate setting. As regards film, Carl Mayer is considered the primary scriptwriter of the *Kammerspiel* film and was the creative force behind Murnau's *Der letzte Mann* (1924) which is seen to typify the genre. Mayer's contribution to the development of the *Kammerspiel* film can also be seen in his earlier screenplays, of which Jessner and Leni's *Hintertreppe* (1921) and Lupu Pick's *Scherben* (1921) and *Sylvester* (1923) are prominent examples.[102]

The *Kammerspiel* style was very different from that of the Expressionist film in that fantasy, supernatural, and mythological elements were replaced with fairly uncomplicated stories containing realistic and social elements dealing with the psychological characters of simple people. The settings were contemporary, with the *Kammerspiel* narrative usually taking the form of a concisely condensed story unifying time, action, and place. Plot development usually took place within a short span of time and, if one excludes framing devices, most commonly in a linear manner. *Sylvester*'s dialectic between the linear story line and the objective, documentary shots of New Year's Eve celebrations is a notable exception. *Kammerspiel* films featured relatively few characters, usually lower to lower-middle class, who interacted in a limited number of settings which were often dreary and cheerless. The narrative dealt with disturbing events and irrational, unfortunate occurrences which result in tragedy. The excessive emotion of melodrama was suppressed in favour of the very slow, expressive use of

small details. An important element of the *Kammerspiel* film was that intertitles were nearly eliminated, with an emphasis on propelling the narrative in a purely visual manner. In conjunction with the generally inconspicuous editing, this avoidance of intertitles in the *Kammerspiel* films created an even slower and more laboured tempo. The first film during this period thought to be completely devoid of intertitles was, however, Karl Heinz Martin's Expressionist film from 1920 of Georg Kaiser's play *Von Morgens bis Mitternachts*. In general, German films in the 1920s made prevalent use of both expository and dialogue intertitles; however, dialogue intertitles were increasingly favoured from the mid-1920s, with expository intertitles being used primarily to convey temporal or spatial shifts.

The *Kammerspiel* film's intimate, tragic stories are presented appropriately enough in a relatively simple, uncomplicated manner. The clear emphasis on interior sets can be seen to reflect the psychological turmoil being experienced by the small number of protagonists. Sparse décor is prevalent with inanimate objects taking on important significance. In Lupu Pick's *Scherben* (1921), there are numerous shots of railway images such as moving trains, train wheels, and railway tracks which seem to reinforce the isolation of the small house where the railway worker lives with his wife and daughter. The family's suffering brought about by the missing mother which culminates in her death is further symbolised by her simple room with a hanging picture of the Madonna and the adjacent window with the strongly emphasised crucifix form of the window-bars (Fig. 13). Pick's films were unusual in that although *Sylvester* (1923) reflects the strong use of constructed studio sets, much of *Scherben* and two subsequent films by Pick were filmed in natural settings. Perhaps more striking are the flat, silhouetted façade sets in the courtyards of Jessner and Leni's *Hintertreppe* (1921) (Fig. 14) and Murnau's *Der letzte Mann* (1924) (Fig. 15.). The stylised sets are simplified rather than realistically rendered, with the bleak

buildings expressively suggestive of the oppression and hopelessness felt by the protagonists.

It was the various lighting concerns in films such as the *Kammerspiel* films as well as the street film *Die Straße*, discussed below, which placed additional reliance on the use of indoor studio sets. The relatively low sensitivity of film stock at this time required that films such as these which were composed primarily of night scenes could be filmed only in studios; however, the year 1923 was also important in the development of a much more sensitive stock, albeit not without additional problems.[103] In addition to contrasting light and dark elements of the mise en scène, the lighting could function to reflect ambivalence and deep conflicts within a character. Carl Mayer's titling his screenplay of *Sylvester* as 'ein Lichtspiel' was seen by the director Pick as symbolising 'the chiaroscuro in man, in his soul, the eternal ebb and flow of shadow and light which affect psychical relations'.[104] The production of *Kammerspiel* films ceased to be important after 1924, as the *Neue Sachlichkeit* and the *Straßenfilm* (street film) began to gain prominence.

The street film is often seen as an extension of the *Kammerspiel* film in the rather more situation-based stories which take place in modern settings and involve a limited number of main characters. Both were also filmed exclusively in the studio using constructed sets, but the shift from emotionalism to social realism is evident in the mise en scène. Whereas the *Kammerspiel* film emphasised the homeliness of simple, intimate interiors, street films such as *Die Straße* stressed the tawdriness of establishments such as brothels and nightclubs. The object of the protagonist's desire for freedom from his dull, everyday existence is symbolised by the bright lights of the busy street at night and both the large crowds and unsavoury individuals who reflect this forbidden, disreputable world. Films belonging to the *Neue Sachlichkeit* and more specifically to the street film are dark tales of the night rendered in chiaroscuro. Karl Grune's *Die Straße* was the first in a

succession of street films which depicted the various dangers which await members of the middle class who, succumbing to curiosity and temptation, venture into the urban world of crime. The stories of the street film genre are essentially the same; a man leaves his middle-class family in search of excitement and adventure only to find himself involved in the underworld of gamblers and prostitutes. He manages to escape and return home, vowing never to stray again. *Die Straße* demonstrates the innovation of false perspectives and the use of models in order to enlarge the city settings. The use of harsh, low-key lighting also serves to create a heightened sense of dangerous and claustrophobic backstreets.

Pabst's *Die freudlose Gasse* (1925) is remarkably sophisticated in its contrast of the aforementioned stylised brothels, mysterious stairways, and dark backstreets with the moving, realistic portrait of not only the Asta Nielsen and Greta Garbo characters, but of well-developed minor roles as well. The relatively restrained acting styles of Nielsen and Garbo as the prostitutes convincingly portray their characters' despair and misery. Louise Brooks's two films with Pabst (*Die Büchse der Pandora* [1928] and *Tagebuch einer Verlorenen* [1929]), and Joe May's *Asphalt* from 1928/29 are late examples which are often grouped with this genre. They exhibit, however, a certain emotional detachment not found in the street films, and the technical achievements of these later films are decidedly more sophisticated.

Bruno Rahn's *Dirnentragödie* from 1927 with Asta Nielsen as the aging prostitute is one of the best known films of this genre.[105] Street films such as *Dirnentragödie* have been seen by social historians as promoting a conservative ideology 'in [their] fundamentally deterministic attitude toward social problems and [their] pronounced preference for a rigid class structure'.[106] Frequent mention is made in reviews of the artistic performance of Asta Nielsen and its emotional appeal. Questions concerning the plight and possible victimization of the ageing prostitute were considered to be pressing issues to writers targeting a lower-class

readership, whereas reviews of these films by the moderate to conservative press were seen primarily in aesthetic terms, highlighting Nielsen's mastery of cinematic acting. Nielsen's early roles as a strong, independent woman established her reputation internationally, and Italian actresses such as Lyda Borelli and Francesca Bertini created a persona of the passionate, aristocratic woman involved in tragic situations, reputed to be a combination of eroticism and death influenced by Asta Nielsen's German films.[107] In contrast, it has been noted elsewhere that Nielsen is seen to have drawn from the conventions of the diva films in her performances in German films such as *Die weisse Rosen* (1915, released 1917).[108] A decade later, her portrayals of quite psychologically nuanced characters in both *Die freudlose Gasse* (1925) and *Dirnentragödie* reflect rather more complex narratives dealing more generally with class conflicts, poverty, unemployment, and violence. The dénouement is inevitably one of despair and loss of dignity.

With an overwhelming emphasis on mise en scène, the role of cinematography in German film during these years did not command the level of importance which has often been attributed to it. The relatively long takes served to privilege mise en scène elements rather than elaborate camerawork, although the innovative techniques devised by cameramen Fritz Arno Wagner and Karl Freund are legendary and well documented. The majority of German films of artistic merit, however, displayed quite conventional camerawork. Extreme angle framings were not common, with instances in *Die Straße* being an exception, but were typically shot at eye-level. The preferred distances of framing were the long shot and *plan américain* (medium long shot), which allowed for greater versatility as the pictorial composition of individual shots was given particular emphasis, quite often using deep focus. Framing at times also included visible ceilings in the films of Lang, Pabst, and Murnau. Close-up shots are not used as often as in

American films, but they figure rather often, particularly in Lubitsch's films due to his greater than average use of analytical editing.

Masks are a stylistic device which was prevalent in German film. Lubitsch used hard-edged masks which drew attention to themselves in their decorative function which often commented on graphic and narrative elements (Fig. 16). Softer-edged masks and arch-shaped masks were used by Murnau throughout his German films, at times covering the majority of the frame as in *Faust*. Whereas in America the use of irises had already been eclipsed by the use of the fade, German films in 1920 still displayed notable use of this device. *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, for example, was not atypical in its 30% of irises-in and 41% of irises-out, but by 1924 the frequency of the iris in German films had declined significantly.[109]

With numerous narratives dealing with supernatural and fantastic subjects, a significant use of special effects would be expected. Superimposition is a common device used in films of varying narrative themes. The use of this device in Murnau's *Phantom* which is restricted to several significant scenes is rather conventional, as is its use by Lubitsch in *Die Puppe* (1919) to depict dream images, whereas Paul Leni's relentless use of the device in the third episode of *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett* dealing with Jack the Ripper is quite exceptional. As early as 1913 Guido Seeber had used double exposure to depict Paul Wegener's dual roles in *Der Student von Prag* and Henny Porten appeared in dual roles in *Kohlhiesels Töchter* as well as in *Wehe, wenn sie losgelassen*.

The use of stop-motion, the undercranked camera, and particularly the negative exposure in *Nosferatu* is unusual for German films of this period, but stop-motion was regularly used to display text appearing on surfaces, such as 'Du Musst Caligari Werden'.[110] An inconspicuous use of stop-motion is found in the allusion of the sword cutting the falling feather in Lang's *Nibelungen* film *Siegfried*.

Much has been made, of course, of the *entfesselte* (unchained) *camera* of Karl Freund in Murnau's *Der letzte Mann*. Although this technique had already been seen in Guido Seeber's use of numerous tracking shots in Pick's *Sylvester* and Axel Graatkjær's revolving camera in Murnau's *Phantom*, it is *Der letzte Mann* which was responsible for making it well-known. In particular, Freund's subjective camera effects such as the protagonist's dizzy drunken stupor have received much comment, as well as those depicting his subjective state of shame when faced with the cruelty of the laughing women. Even more dramatic was the use of the 'unchained camera' in Dupont's *Varieté* (1925) in which it was attached to a swinging trapeze. Conspicuous camera movement of this nature, however, was much more the exception than the rule.

Whereas the vast majority of German films during these years displayed the marked importance of constructed mise en scène, a salient use of technically stunning camerawork is found in the *Bergfilm* (mountain film) genre associated with the experienced photographer Arnold Fanck. The ubiquitous snow-covered mountains, ice, and glaciers convey the beauty and grandeur of nature, but always include human and technological elements and man's struggle to contain the environment. These dramatic, even melodramatic narrative films incorporate a realist aesthetic with non-narrative documentary elements. Displaying a variety of shot scales, the superior camerawork closely follows the organised mountain-climbing expeditions found in perilous situations, as well as the subsequent rescue efforts. Both the imposing beauty and powerful force of the mountains are conveyed particularly in the spectacular scenes of storms and avalanches. The destructive power of nature as embodied in the alpine mountain ranges has also been seen to function as a dangerous, threatening entity, much as the vampire in *Nosferatu* and the figure of Death in *Der müde Tod.*[111]

Fanck's *Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs* from 1919/20 was a study of photographic abstraction and the first of his many mountain films bearing titles such as *Im Kampf mit dem Berg* (Figs. 17, 43) and *Der Berg*

des Schicksals. These documentary and feature films display not only static camera shots, as illustrated in a shot taken on location by a second cameraman (Fig. 17), but also unique mobile framings with the camera strapped to a ski and held with an attached pole in front of the guiding skier, creating an exhilarating point-of-view shot roughly from a ski-boot's perspective (Fig. 18). Leni Riefenstahl had roles in *Der heilige Berg* (1925/26) and the unusually broad comedy *Der große Sprung* (1927), the former displaying both location shooting and constructed sets of cathedral-like edifices seemingly built of sculptured ice which dwarf the protagonists. Despite these sets, both Fanck and Riefenstahl were ideologically committed to location shooting as the basis for true cinematic expression. Fanck's demand for photographic realism, which Riefenstahl felt entailed needless risks, is evident in his most well-known film *Die weiße Hölle vom Piz Palü* (1929), co-directed with Pabst and with Riefenstahl again in the leading role. In his appraisal of Arnold Fanck's passion for photographic technology, Elsaesser summarises Fanck's films thus:

> Fanck's films are trapped in the still photograph, attempting to freeze movement in the frame and to dynamise the image, often at the expense of narrative, suspense or timing. His plots, as dramatic as they may seem, would be equally at home in a pulp magazine. Very rarely is there any build-up of a drama. Instead, he uses a dramatic/melodramatic frame, which he develops only to put something else up front in the scene.[112]

Such criticism is perhaps unmerited given the plethora of thin story-lines during this period. Fanck's eye for startling cinematographic images was so commanding and the advanced visual effects achieved by his leading cameraman, Hans Schneeberger, so distinct from other contemporary films that photographic concerns clearly take precedence over narrative and dramaturgical complexity.

The editing in German films during this period can generally be characterised as favouring long scenes with restrained cutting. Editing did not call attention to itself, creating a pace substantially slower than contemporary American and even French films. It was indeed these

lingering long takes and unobtrusive editing patterns which contributed substantially to the common consensus of German films being deeply psychological and introspective. Cook comments that as a result of Germany's isolation during the war from the rapidly expanding international film language, 'the editing continuity of *Der Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* is essentially that of arranged scenes, though there is some rudimentary intercutting and some camera movement'.[113] Although by the late 1920s German films had adopted the editing techniques of the classical continuity style, earlier uses of devices such as shot/reverse-angle shot and cuts on action were quite limited. Lubitsch was considered an exception in his faster cutting, increased use of both cross-cutting and analytical editing, and early use of shot/reverse-angle shot, but this was unusual for German films produced in the late 1910s through mid-1920s. The reverse-angle cuts in Lubitsch's films were most commonly point-of-view shots and were quite skilfully executed. Other directors such as Murnau used these occasionally, but to a much lesser extent, and Murnau's early films contain numerous instances of violating screen direction. Pabst had a preference for cutting on action, but in addition to the match on action of classical continuity editing, he also edited movements together which advance in opposite directions, resulting in heightened dynamism.

Lubitsch, Murnau, and Pabst each used cross-cutting to various ends, as, for example, in Murnau's poetic use of the device in *Nosferatu* when Ellen's exclamation and reaching arms instigate a distant eye-line match with the vampire. A less elegant but more intricate use of cross-cutting is found in the films of Fritz Lang. His tendency to intercut several seemingly disparate parallel events served not only to create greater complexity but also functioned in *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* and *Metropolis* to provide emphasis and counterpoint through contrast and juxtaposition.

'Atmospheric Inserts' is a term used by Barry Salt to describe inserted shots of unpopulated buildings or landscape which are used for

expressive purposes to indicate characters' emotions.[114] The above-mentioned railway tracks in *Scherben* are insert shots of this nature, as well as the non-specific street images in *Die Straße*. Other examples of films which make use of this device are *Sylvester* and Lang's *Dr. Mabuse der Spieler*.

The montage sequence in German films of the 1920s makes use of dissolves, fades, and superimpositions, and this device is not nearly as prevalent in Swedish, French, or even American films of the time, although dissolves are common in the Swedish cinema to signify flashbacks and parallel actions. The device of the montage sequence is represented quite elegantly in Pabst's *Geheimnisse einer Seele* (1926), with the collision of multiple images (Fig. 19) in the dream recalled by the troubled professor followed by the psychoanalytic interpretation of his psychiatrist. The montage sequence also functions in the capacity of a subjective feeling of dizziness or vertigo, or in quite a few instances to summarise the allure and vices of the Big City, as in Grune's *Die Straße* (1923) which was later improved on in Murnau's *Sunrise*. It was not, however, commonly used to signify the passage of time as is found in later American films.

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] Andrew Higson, 'The Concept of National Cinema', *Screen* 30:4, 1989, pp. 36-46.
[2] Higson, p. 37.
[3] See numerous essays in *A Second Life: German Cinema's First Decades*, (ed.), Thomas Elsaesser, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996, which discuss the long-neglected Wilhelmine cinema using these various approaches. This book is also representative of the recent volumes of collected essays published in the 1990s which address a wide range of approaches. In addition, an important aim of Le Giornate del Cinema Muto organisers in Pordenone has been to correct this imbalance by presenting rare programmes every autumn of various national cinemas which have seldom been seen. The journal *Griffithiana* published by Pordenone offers scholarly essays on the widest possible range of subject matter pertaining to the historical study of silent film.
[4] See Manfred Behn (ed.), *Schwarzer Traum und weiße Sklavin: deutsch-dänische Filmbeziehungen 1910-1930,* München: edition text & kritik, 1994, as well as Marguerite Engberg, *Dansk stumfilm I-II*, Copenhagen: Rhodos, 1977, and Ron Mottram, *The Danish Cinema Before Dreyer*, Metuchen, NJ and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1988.
[5] The Norwegian actress Aud Egede-Nissen spent the majority of her professional career in Germany, where she and her two sisters, also actresses, founded their own German film company, Egede-Nissen Film Comp. GmbH, which produced thirty feature films from 1917 to 1920. As an actress during the early 1920s, she had prominent roles in films by Lang, Grune, and Lubitsch, in addition to her two films with Murnau. See Gunnar Iversen's 'Sisters of Cinema: Three Norwegian Actors and their German Film Company, 1917-1920', in *Nordic Explorations: Film Before 1930*, (eds.) John Fullerton and Jan Olsson, Sydney: John Libbey, 1999, pp. 93-101.
[6] Tassilo Schneider, 'Reading Against the Grain: German Cinema and Film Historiography' in Ginsberg and Thompson, eds., *Perspectives on German Cinema*, New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1996, p. 44. See Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson's *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, in which the authors make the case for a unified, cohesive American national cinema.
[7] Yuri Tsivian, 'Russians in Russian Cinema: Construction and Reception of Nationality in Early Film Culture,' in *Cinéma sans frontières 1896-1918 Images Across Borders*, (eds.), Roland Cosandey and François Albera, Lausanne: Éditions Payot, 1995, pp. 128-129.
[8] See Richard Abel's assumption of this point in his introduction to the series of essays in *Silent Film*, (ed.), Richard Abel, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996, pp. 6-7.
[9] See Ian Jarvie's essay 'National Cinema. A theoretical assessment' in Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie (eds.) *Cinema and Nation*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 79, in which he acknowledges the long-standing presuppositions by European nation-states of American culture as a demoralising and dangerous influence. At the same time, Jarvie challenges the argument of cultural degradation, arguing that culture is learned quite independently of films and therefore a foreign nation's cinema has a negligible effect on the culture of 'receiver countries'.
[10] See Thompson's discussion of the decline of 'Film Europe' in Kristin Thompson, 'The End of the "Film Europe" Movement' in T. O'Regan and B. Shoesmith (eds.), *History on/and/in Film*, Perth: History & Film Association of Australia, 1987, pp. 45-56.
[11] Notable exceptions include three historical patriotic films by John W. Brunius: *Karl XII* (1925), *Fänrik Ståls sägner* (1926), and *Gustaf Wasa* (1928). These rather pompous historical dramas were quickly parodied by Sam Ask in *Erik XIV* (1928).

[12] See Tassilo Schneider's article 'Reading Against the Grain: German Cinema and Film Historiography', mentioned above, in which he affirms Stephen Crofts' comments concerning national cinema production as being defined against Hollywood (See Stephen Crofts, 'Reconceptualizing National Cinema/s' in *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1993, pp. 45-50). Schneider finds that while this recent trend in academic writing has as its intention to emphasise other, less-discussed national cinemas, this purpose is inevitably defeated through defining all national cinemas by their deviations from the classical Hollywood style.
[13] Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960*, p. 157.
[14] Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, p. 378. In Bordwell's earlier *The Films of Carl-Theodor Dreyer*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, p. 25, he mentions that by 1926 classical dominance had been obtained.
[15] For Noël Burch's perspective on this issue, see his discussion of what he terms cinema's Primitive Mode of Representation (PMR) and Institutional Mode of Representation (IMR) in *Life to those Shadows*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
[16] Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker (ed.), *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, London: BFI Publishing, 1990, pp. 308-309.
[17] See John Fullerton's *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film, 1912-1920*, diss., University of East Anglia, 1994, and the following essays: 'Spatial and Temporal Articulation in Pre-Classical Swedish Film' in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*; 'Contextualising the Innovation of Deep Staging in Swedish Film', in *Film and the First World War*, (eds.), Karel Dibbets and Bert Hogenkamp, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995; analysis of intertitles in 'Relationen mellan text och bild i en förklassisk svensk film', *Aura*, vol. 3, no. 1-2, 1997; and discussion of self-referentiality in early Swedish film in 'Att se världen med andra ögon: några självbespeglingstendenser i tidig svensk film' in *Blågult flimmer. Svenska filmanalyser*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1998.
[18] See Bo Florin's discussion of the concepts of a Swedish 'Golden Age' and 'Swedish School' in his doctoral dissertation *Den nationella stilen. Studier i den svenska filmens guldålder*, Stockholm: Aura förlag, 1997, pp. 31-33.
[19] Tytti Soila, 'Sweden', *Nordic National Cinemas*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, p. 146.
[20] See Bengt Idestam-Almquist's detailed account of the earliest years of film production in Sweden in *När filmen kom till Sverige. Charles Magnusson och Svenska Bio*, Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners förlag, 1959, pp. 229-273.
[21] Jan Reinholds, *Filmindustri 1900-1975***,** Lerum: Reinholds, 1987, p. 26.
[22] Bengt Idestam-Almquist, *Svensk film före Gösta Berling*, Stockholm: Norstedts, 1974, pp. 40,44, and 46.
[23] Lars Lindström, 'Svenska Bio från Kristianstad till Lidingön', in *Svensk filmografi 1*, (ed.) Lars Åhlander, Stockholm: Filminstitutet, 1986, p. 47.
[24] Jan Reinholds, *Filmindustri 1900-1975***,** Lerum: Reinholds, 1987, p. 18.
[25] See *Aktiebolaget Svensk Filmindustris ateljéer* printed by Jacob Bagges Böner, Stockholm, 1920, p. 4, cited in John Fullerton, *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film, 1912-1920*, diss., East Anglia University, 1994, p. 18.
[26] John Fullerton, *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film, 1912-1920*, diss., East Anglia University, 1994, p. 17.
[27] Jan Reinholds, *Filmindustri 1900-1975*, Lerum: Reinholds, 1987, p. 25.
[28] Rune Waldekranz, 'Anna Hofman-Uddgren, Sveriges första kvinnliga filmregissör', *Chaplin*, May 1983, p. 118.

[29] Agneta Lalander and Marianne Landqvist, eds., *Strindberg och stumfilmen*, Stockholm: Strindbergsmuseet, 1995, p. 2. There were eleven silent films which were adapted from works by Strindberg; of the five which are non-extant, three were produced in Germany, two of which featured Asta Nielsen and one with Strindberg's third wife, the Norwegian actress Harriet Bosse.
[30] See *Svensk filmografi* I, (ed.) Lars Åhlander, Stockholm: Filminstitutet, 1986, p.152.
[31] See *Svensk filmografi I*, p. 152 and Idestam-Almquist, *Svensk film före Gösta Berling,* p. 91
[32] Rune Waldekranz, 'Anna Hofman-Uddgren, Sveriges första kvinnliga filmregissör', *Chaplin*, 186 no. 3, May 1983, p. 120. See also Leif Furhammer, *Filmen i Sverige,* p. 37, in which he states that Gustaf Uddgren complained that the actors from Intiman insisted that the theatrical performance should be documented with as little filmic encroachment as possible.
[33] *Svensk filmografi 1*, pp. 412-413.
[34] Cowie, *Swedish Cinema*, London: Tantivy Press, 1966, p. 11.
[35] Gösta Werner, 'Svenska Bios produktionspolitik fram till 1920' in Furhammar, Leif, et al., eds., *Rörande bilder: Festskrift till Rune Waldekranz*, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1981, p. 165.
[36] Leif Furhammar, *Filmen i Sverige*, Höganäs: Förlags AB Wiken, 1991, p. 41.
[37] Leif Furhammar, *Filmen i Sverige*, Höganäs: Förlags AB Wiken, 1991, p. 152.
[38] Werner, 'Svenska Bios produktionspolitik fram till 1920', pp. 176-177.
[39] Bengt Idestam-Almquist, *Filmstaden Göteborg–Hasselblads–Georg af Klercker–en bortglömd epok*, p. 16.
[40] Idestam-Almquist, *Filmstaden,* pp. 21-22.
[41] Leif Furhammar, *Filmen i Sverige*, Höganäs: Förlags AB Wiken, 1991, p. 76.
[42] Bo Florin, *Den nationella stilen*, Stockholm: Aura förlag, 1997, p. 109.
[43] Gardar Sahlberg, *Levande bilder från ett svunnet Sverige: 1897-1913*, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1966, p. 19.
[44] Sven G. Winquist, *Svenska stumfilmer 1896-1931 och deras regissörer*, Stockholm: Proprius förlag, 1967, p. 26. This book emanated from the Swedish Film Institute's Documentation Department and is a forerunner of the extensive *Svensk filmografi* series which was begun the following year.
[45] Tytti Soila, et al., 'Conclusion', *Nordic National Cinemas,* p. 234.
[46] Elisabeth Liljedahl, *Stumfilmen i Sverige – kritik och debatt*, diss., Uppsala universitet, Stockholm: Proprius förlag/Svenska Filminstitutet, 1975, pp. 48, 110.
[47] Sven G. Winquist, *Svenska stumfilmer 1896-1931 och deras regissörer*, Stockholm: Proprius förlag, 1967, pp. 27-28.
[48] Rune Waldekranz, *Filmens historia*, Stockholm: Zetterlund & Thelander, 1959, p.49.
[49] Hans Pensel, *Seastrom and Stiller in Hollywood*, New York: Vantage Press, 1969, pp. 18-19 (revised version of dissertation).
[50] 'Svensk censur och tysk film', *Filmnyheter*, 1 January 1921.
[51] For data concerning these three Ufa co-productions, see *Svensk filmografi* II, pp. 295, 299, and 325.
[52] Bo Florin, *Den nationella stilen*, Stockholm: Aura förlag, 1997, pp. 51-66, 30.
[53] Jan Reinholds, *Filmindustri 1900-1975***,** Lerum: Reinholds, 1987, p. 17.
[54] William Uricchio and Roberta Pearson, 'Italian Spectacle and the U.S. Market', in *Cinéma sans frontières 1896-1918 Images Across Borders*, p. 99.
[55] This point, and a more general assessment of the role of nature in early Swedish films, as well as those in Norway and Denmark, are found in Hauke Lange-Fuchs's essay 'Natur im frühen skandinavischen Film' in Berg, Jan and Kay Hoffmann, eds., *Natur und ihre filmische Auflösung*, Marburg: Timbuktu, 1994, p. 202.
[56] Tytti Soila, 'Sweden', *Nordic National Cinemas*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, p. 160.

[57] Listed by director, these 11 films are: Sjöström's *Tösen från Stormyrtorpet*, *Ingmarssönerna*, *Karin Ingmarsdotter*, *Körkarlen*; Stiller's *Herr Arnes pengar*, *Gunnar Hedes saga*, *Gösta Berlings saga, I och II* (originally two films before they were condensed); Ivan Hedqvist's *Dunungen*; and Gustaf Molander's *Ingmarsarvet* and *Till Österland*. Included in the *Jerusalem* series are Sjöström's *Ingmarssönerna* (1919) and *Karin Ingmarsdotter* (1920) and Molander's *Ingmarsarvet* (1925) and *Till Österland* (1926).
[58] Strindberg's works continue to be rarely chosen for film adaptations, the one striking exception being the tremendous critical success of Alf Sjöberg's *Fröken Julie* which received the Palme d'Or at Cannes in 1950.
[59] Peter Cowie, *Le cinéma des pays nordiques*, Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1990. In English translation as *Scandinavian Cinema*, London: Tantivy Press, 1992, p. 109.
[60] In addition, see Peter Cowie's *Swedish Film*, pp. 10-11 and his assertion that Magnusson's non-interference in production produced an individual rather than collective vision.
[61] G. Charensol, *Panorama du cinéma*, Paris: Éditions Kra, 1930, p. 131 quoted in Bo Florin, *Den nationella stilen*, Stockholm: Aura förlag, 1997, p. 218, note 69.
[62] Gösta Werner, *Mauritz Stiller: Ett livsöde*, Stockholm: Prisma, 1991, p. 119.
[63] Richard Combs, 'Mauritz Stiller' in *Cinema, A Critical Dictionary*, vol. 2, Richard Roud (ed.), New York: Viking Press, 1980, p. 966.
[64] Gardar Sahlberg, 'Selma Lagerlöf och filmen' in *Lagerlöfstudier*, Malmö: Selma Lagerlöf-Sällskapet, 1960, pp. 200-203.
[65] Gunnar Th:son Pihl, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 18 March 1924.
[66] Cowie, *Scandinavian Cinema*, p. 108.
[67] See John Fullerton's article 'Att se världen med andra ögon: några självbespeglingstendenser i tidig svensk film' in *Blågult flimmer: Svenska filmanalyser*, (ed.) Erik Hedling. Studentlitteratur, 1998, and a fuller analysis in Fullerton's dissertation *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film, 1912-1920)*. In addition, see Bordwell and Thompson's inclusion of Georg af Klercker in their *Film History: An Introduction*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994, pp. 65-66, 81. For formal analysis as to his staging practices, see Ben Brewster and Lea Jacob's *Theatre to Cinema*, p. 172, as well as p. 214 for a more general overview.
[68] Astrid Söderbergh Widding, *Stumfilm i brytningstid*, p. 8.
[69] John Fullerton, *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film, 1912-1920*, diss., University of East Anglia, 1994.
[70] Ingmar Bergman's remarks are from Gösta Werner's 1981 biographic film of Victor Sjöström, produced by Bengt Forslund for the Swedish Film Institute.
[71] Astrid Söderbergh Widding, 'Towards Classical Narration? Georg af Klercker in Context', in *Nordic Explorations: Film Before 1930*, (eds.) John Fullerton and Jan Olsson, Sydney: John Libbey, 1999, p.190.
[72] Lars Lindström, 'Svenska Bio från Kristianstad till Lidingön', in *Svensk filmografi 1,* p. 47.
[73] Bo Florin, *Den nationella stilen*, Stockholm: Aura förlag, 1997, p. 237.
[74] Thomas Elsaesser (ed.), *A Second Life. German Cinema's First Decades*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996; Paolo Cherchi Usai and Lorenzo Codelli (eds.), *Before Caligari: German Cinema, 1895-1920*, Pordenone: Edizioni Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1990.
[75] A valuable source of information is an entire issue of *KINtop* devoted to Messter. See *KINtop 3. Oskar Messter - Erfinder und Geschäftsmann*, Basel and Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1994.
[76] Jürgen Schebera, *Damals in Neubabelsberg...: Studios, Stars und Kinopaläste im Berlin der zwanziger Jahre*, Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1990, p. 20.

[77] See Ramona Curry's 'How Early German Film Stars Helped Sell the War(es)' in *Film and the First World War*, (eds.) Karel Dibbets and Bert Hogenkamp, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995, pp. 139-148.
[78] Martin Koerber, 'Oskar Messter, Film Pioneer: Early Cinema between Science, Spectacle, and Commerce', in *A Second Life: German Cinema's First Decades*, Thomas Elsaesser (ed.), p. 58.
[79] Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar cinema and after: Germany's historical imaginary*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 111.
[80] Martin Koerber, 'Oskar Messter, Film Pioneer: Early Cinema between Science, Spectacle, and Commerce', in *A Second Life: German Cinema's First Decades*, Thomas Elsaesser (ed.), p. 61.
[81] Klaus Kreimeier, *The Ufa story: a history of Germany's greatest film company, 1918-1945*. Trans. by Robert and Rita Kimber from the original *Die Ufa-Story: Geschichte eines Filmkonzerns*, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1992, p. 19.
[82] Rainer Rother, 'Learning from the Enemy: German Film Propaganda in World War I' in *A Second Life: German Cinema's First Decades*, Thomas Elsaesser (ed.), pp. 186, 191.
[83] Thomas G. Plummer, Bruce Murray, et al., 'Conservative and Revolutionary Attitudes in Weimar Film' in *Germany in the Twenties. The Artist as Social Critic*, Frank D. Hirschbach, et al., (eds.), New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1980, p. 75. See the same three points made in Bruce Murray's essay 'An Introduction to the Commercial Film Industry in Germany from 1895 to 1933', in *Film and Politics in the Weimar Republic*, Thomas G. Plummer, et al. (eds.), New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1982, p.25.
[84] Greater detail of the consolidation can be found in *The Ufa Story*, p.30.
[85] David A. Cook, *A History of Narrative Film* [1981], New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990, p. 106.
[86] Thomas G. Plummer, et al., 'Conservative and Revolutionary Attitudes in Weimar Film' in *Germany in the Twenties. The Artist as Social Critic*, Frank D. Hirschbach, et al., (eds.), New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1980, p. 85.
[87] Paolo Cherchi Usai and Lorenzo Codelli, 'Before and After *Caligari*' *Before Caligari. German Cinema, 1895-1920*, Pordenone: Edizioni Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1990, p. 28.
[88] Heide Schlüpmann, 'Cinematographic Enlightenment Versus "The Public Sphere". A Year in Wilhelminian Cinema,' *Griffithiana*, no. 50, May 1994, p. 79.
[89] Henri Langlois, 'German Cinema: Its Origins and Its Masters of the 20s', in *Cinema, A Critical Dictionary,* Richard Roud (ed.), New York: Viking Press, 1980, p.421.
[90] Kristin Thompson, '*Im Anfang war*…: Some Links between German Fantasy Films of the Teens and the Twenties' in *Prima di Caligari. Cinema tedesco, 1895-1920/Before Caligari: German Cinema, 1895-1920*, Paolo Cherchi Usai and Lorenzo Codelli (eds.), Pordenone: Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1990, pp. 138-161.
[91] Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar cinema and after: Germany's historical imaginary*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 73-74.
[92] Helmut Färber, 'Architektur, Dekoration, Zerstörung. Etliches über Kinematographie und äußere Wirklichkeit' in *Die Metaphysik des Dekors: Raum, Architektur und Licht im klassischen deutschen Stummfilm*, Klaus Kreimeier (ed.), Marburg: Schüren, 1994, pp. 102-104.
[93] Lotte Eisner, *The Haunted Screen*, p. 51.
[94] Jürgen Kasten, *Der expressionistische Film*, Münster: MAkS, 1990.
[95] Barry Salt, 'From Caligari to who?', in *Sight and Sound*, Spring 1979, pp. 119-123.
[96] Salt's selection consists of *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (Robert Wiene, 1920), *Genuine* (Robert Wiene, 1920), *Von Morgens bis Mitternacht*s (Karl Heinz Martin, 1920), *Torgus* (Hans Kobe, 1921), *Raskolnikow* (Robert Wiene, 1923), *Das Wachsfiguren-kabinett* (Paul Leni, 1924), and *Metropolis* (Fritz Lang, 1926).

[97] Kristin Thompson, 'Expressionistic mise-en-scène' in her *Eisenstein's Ivan the Terrible*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, p. 173, quoted in Thomas Elsaesser's *Weimar cinema and after: Germany's historical imaginary*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 26.
[98] See Anton Kaes's essay on Fritz Lang and Thea von Harbou's intentional mythologising in 'Siegfried – A German Film Star Performing the Nation in Lang's *Nibelungen* Film' in *The German Cinema Book*, Tim Bergfelder, Erica Carter, Deniz Göktürk (eds.), London: British Film Institute, 2002, pp. 63-70.
[99] Lotte Eisner, *The Haunted Screen*, p. 94.
[100] Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar cinema and after: Germany's historical imaginary*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 27.
[101] Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar cinema and after: Germany's historical imaginary*, p. 66.
[102] Two very informative sources on Carl Mayer are Jürgen Kasten's *Carl Mayer: Filmpoet. Ein Drehbuchautor schreibt Filmgeschichte*, Berlin: Vistas Verlag, 1994 and *Carl Mayer: Im Spiegelkabinett des Dr. Caligari. Der Kampf zwischen Licht und Dunkel*, Bernhard Frankfurter (ed.), Vienna: Promedia, 1997.
[103] Serious drawbacks included the difficulty of filming illuminated streetlights in night scenes; more problematic still was the fact that the new, sensitive stock would begin to degrade within four weeks. See Gert Koshofer's essay 'Die Filmmaterialien' in *Gleißende Schatten: Kamerapioniere der zwanziger Jahre*, Michael Esser (ed.), Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 1994, pp. 115-118.
[104] Quoted in Lotte Eisner's *The Haunted Screen*, p. 177.
[105] For a feminist reading of women's roles in Weimar cinema, see Patrice Petro's *Joyless Streets. Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Germany*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
[106] Anthony K. Munson, '*Dirnentragödie*', in *Film and Politics in the Weimar Republic*, Thomas G. Plummer, et al. (eds.), New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1982, p. 64.
[107] Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, *Film History: An Introduction*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994, p. 58. See also Vittorio Martinelli, 'Italian Cinema in the Year 1913', *Griffithiana*, no. 50, May 1994, pp. 47-57.
[108] See Ben Brewster and Lea Jacob's analysis of the range of styles of acting found in performances of Borelli and Nielsen in their discussion of pictorialism and realism in *Theater to Cinema: Stage Pictorialism and the Early Feature Film*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 111-120.
[109] Jürgen Kasten, *Der expressionistische Film*, Münster: MAkS, 1990, p. 164.
[110] Jürgen Kasten, p. 163.
[111] Eric Rentschler, 'Hochgebirge und Moderne: Eine Standortbestimmung des Bergfilms', in *Filmkultur zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik*, München: Saur, 1992, p.203.
[112] Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar cinema and after: Germany's historical imaginary*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 391.
[113] Cook, *A History of Narrative Film*, p. 112.
[114] Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis,* 2nd ed., London: Starword, 1992, pp. 174-175.

3. An Analysis of Murnau's Affinities with Swedish Film within the Context of German Silent Cinema

A comparative textual analysis of the early films of F.W. Murnau with those films contemporaneous in Germany as well as Swedish silent films of the 1910s and early 1920s is presented. This examination includes aspects of narrative form as well as the devices and elements of stylistic systems within the categories of mise en scène, cinematography, and editing. This main focus of research is preceded by a presentation and short discussion of published critical references, as well as conclusions reached through personal stylistic textual analysis, which address various aspects of Murnau's directorial style.

3.1 Murnau's Formal and Stylistic Systems

As the primary discussion presented later in this chapter is organised according to narrative form and the stylistic categories of mise en scène, cinematography, and editing, the selected references which follow are arranged chronologically. This ordering has several functions: first, to examine how Murnau's style has been understood internationally in different historical periods; secondly, to identify possible transitions in the evaluation of his style; and finally, to reveal the ways in which critical writing has changed from early, often subjective journalistic criticism to the current theoretically based academic studies. Murnau's own views as stated in his articles and interviews appear first. Published critical accounts by a wide range of authors denoting general qualities of Murnau's style and narrative form are then presented, followed by specific citations which address Murnau's style and narrative form in relation to Swedish film. Finally, the author's generalised findings regarding formal and stylistic directorial choices based on close textual readings of Murnau's early extant films are presented.

3.1.1 The Writings and Published Statements of F.W. Murnau

Murnau was not a prolific writer and his published articles and interviews are sparsely scattered between early 1924 and December 1929, with the exception of the South Sea stories and letters which he wrote as well as one story co-written with Robert J. Flaherty. What *is* recorded, however, reflects a man not afraid to voice his views on modern life, the cinema, and filmmaking. The articles are presented chronologically.

'...den frei im Raum zu bewegende Aufnahmeapparat'

Murnau wrote in this piece of the use of technology to attain artistic goals, focussing in particular on the following apparatus:

> Das ist der Apparat, der, während des Drehens, zu jeder Zeit, in jedem Tempo, nach jedem Punkte zu führen ist. Der Apparat, der die Filmtechnik überwindet, indem er ihren letzten künstlerischen Sinn erfüllt ... Die fließende Architektur durchbluteter Körper im bewegten Raum, das Spiel der auf- und absteigenden, sich durchdringenden und wieder lösenden Linien, der Zusammenprall der Flächen, Erregung und Ruhe. Aufbau und Einsturz, Werden und Vergehen eines bisher erst erahnten Lebens, die Symphonie von Körpermelodie und Raumrhythmus, das Spiel der reinen, lebendig durchfluteten, strömenden Bewegung.
>
> (in *Die Filmwoche*, Nr. 1, 1924)

'Mein ideals Manuskript'

'Das ideale Manuskript...wäre eine Filmdichtung, die den Regisseur künstlerisch zwänge, einzig und allein im Sinne des Dichters zu handeln; wo es ein Improvisieren nicht gäbe. Kann der Regisseur frei schalten, ohne der Dichtung zu schaden, vielleicht gar durch Improvisation ihr Niveau erst geben, so ist der Regisseur der Autor.'

(Interview with Eduard Jawitz in *Film-Kurier*, 26 March 1924)

'F.W. Murnau Comes to America'

The author writes of his interview with Murnau in which the director answered a range of questions. Murnau emphasised his commitment to simplicity and 'ridding motion pictures of all that does not belong to them, of all that is unnecessary and trivial and drawn

from other sources.' In speaking of the stage, Murnau was resolute in his admiration for Max Reinhardt, but was equally firm in was he saw as the overpowering influence of the modern stage. 'I have had to forget everything I learned about the stage. We have had to throw overboard everything that suggests the theater.' This conviction he reiterated in his comments on Ernst Lubitsch: 'A brilliant man…but I don't think he has entirely cast off the influence of the stage that we both got under Max Reinhardt. Many of his films give you the feeling of watching action on a stage.' Of *Caligari*, Murnau commented 'It was frankly an experiment. It was *aufregend* (stimulating), aroused wider interest in motion pictures, showed what might be done.'

(Interview with Matthew Josephson in *Motion Picture Classic*, October 1926)

Two of the most cited texts written by Murnau were published in American magazines during his employment there at Fox. These are often quoted, no doubt, because of the outspoken views they contain on various topics including film and his philosophy of filmmaking.

'The Ideal Picture Needs No Titles'

Murnau makes clear from the beginning his extreme pacifist leanings to a readership whom he sees as romanticisers of war, who view it as 'a demonstration of bravery, loyalty and martyrdom.' He writes of his interest in making a war picture, 'disclosing its perniciousness and convincing people of the utter futility of physical combat.'

Of his future plans, he writes 'I hope to make the next picture after this without any titles whatver [sic]. *The Last Laugh* [*Der letzte Mann*] had only one. One way of eliminating titles is by showing two antagonistic thoughts as parallels…Symbolism would obviate titles. I like the reality of things, but not without fantasy; they must dovetail.

Murnau continues:

> Real art is simple, but simplicity requires the greatest art. The camera is the director's sketching pencil. It should be as mobile as possible to catch every passing mood and it is important that

> the mechanics of the cinema should not be interposed between the spectator and the picture. The film director must divorce himself from every tradition, theatrical or literary, to make the best possible use of his new medium…just as I do not permit myself to be influenced away from what I think is the right thing to do and the right person to use, I will not do a picture that is based on a theme not to my liking or conviction.
>
> (in *The Musical Digest*, Vol. XII, No. 13, December 1927)

'Films of the Future'

Murnau speaks of the potential power of the cinema as a medium of expression to bring people of different cultures together, but that as yet no Poet of the new art has arisen. According to Murnau, the future Poets 'will know instinctively what the motion pictures can do that no other form of art can do. Now we must use novels, stage plays, short stories, history as a basis for our film plots. But in the future scenario writers will think screen ideas, and dream screen dreams. The directors of the future will realize that the motion picture is a separate art that has nothing in common with the stage and can express fine shades of thought and feeling that are impossible to the spoken drama.'

Of his filmic style and philosophy he writes:

> They say that I have a passion for "camera angles". But I do not take trick scenes from unusual positions just to get startling effects. To me the camera represents the eye of a person, through whose mind one is watching the events on the screen. It must follow characters at times into difficult places…It must whirl and peep and move from place to place as swiftly as thought itself, when it is necessary to exaggerate for the audience the idea or emotion that is uppermost in the mind of the character. I think the films of the future will use more and more of these "camera angles," or as I prefer to call them these "dramatic angles." They help to photograph thought.
>
> (in *McCall's Magazine*, September 1928)

3.1.2 General Critical Assessment of Murnau's Films

The majority of early writings which mention Murnau, primarily in context with film reviews, are newspapers, film magazines, and general interest magazines. Prominent German examples of these include *Der*

Film, *Film-Kurier*, *Film und Bühne*, *Die Filmwoche*, and *Kinematograph*. The earliest references to films in newspapers were not much more than announcements, which gradually gave way to the more sophisticated type of film criticism which was already firmly in place at the time of the release of Murnau's first film in 1919.

A review of *Der Gang in die Nacht* in *Der Kinematograph*, 30 January 1921, author unknown, begins by speaking of the film's contribution to 'Filmkunst' and the first attempt to create a *Kammerspiel* for the screen. Statements by the reviewer such as 'Die Regie Murnaus ist eine Meisterleistung allerersten Ranges', continues with 'Der treffliche Zusammenhang zwischen dem inneren Empfinden der handelnden Personen und den wunderbar und bisher unerreicht zum Ausdruck gelangten Vorgängen in der Natur, schufen eine Stimmung, aus der heraus einzelne landschaftliche Szenen spontan bejubelt wurden.'[1]

A review of *Schloß Vogelöd* in *Der Kinematograph*, 17 April 1921, author unknown, also mentions the use of Nature as a form of expression:

> Daß es der Regie F.W. Murnaus gelungen ist, gerade das Seelische zum Ausdruck zu bringen und auf äußere Sensationen zu verzichten, ist die besondere Stärke dieses Films. Die Inszenierung ist ganz auf Stimmungen eingestellt: Die äußere Atmosphäre mit Sonne, Regen und Sturm gibt stets die unter den Schloßbewohnern herrschende Stimmung wieder, ist Mittler für feinste Seelenschwingungen, wie das Schloß selbst, das mit hellerleuchteter Front bald fröhliche Gesellschaft, bald mit nur zwei ins nächtliche Dunkel leuchtenden Fenstern sorgenschwere Stunden andeutet. Hier sind neue Ausdrucksmittel von ausgezeichneter Wirkung gefunden. Famos war die bei Sonnenschein ausrückende und bald darauf bei strömendem Regen heimkehrende Jagdgesellschaft.

Willy Haas, the co-scriptwriter of *Der brennende Acker*, was a prominent film critic most often associated with *Film-Kurier*. In his review of *Schloß Vogelöd* in *Film-Kurier*, 8 April 1921, Haas speaks of Murnau's directorial style thus:

> Ein Art Hindernisrennen der Filmregie; denn der Film lebt doch von der Geste, und Murnaus aristokratische Manie ist es, die

> stärkste Geste in der kleinsten Geste zu komprimieren – also den Ausdruck durch sein größtes Hindernis, die noble Zurückhaltung, durchzuzwängen. Daß dieser Ausdruck dabei *stärker* wird, beweist Murnaus Künstlerschaft.…Murnaus Vorzüge in diesem Film sind also zweifach: Erstens das Parlando, die Konversation, der intime Dialog – den niemand so zustandebringt wie er. Dann aber die ganz stumme, ganz unbewegliche, steinerne Tragik eines äußersten, gespanntesten Seelenaugenblickes.

In a 1925 article entitled 'Wie ich Murnau kennenlernte', Haas writes of Murnau that 'Er erzählt in seinen Filmen mit einem delikaten Taktgefühl, niemals zu locker, niemals zu verkrampft. Sein Filmschnitt ist manchmal von einer geradezu klassischen Ausgewogenheit. Aber in den großen dramatischen Szenen zeigt sich dieses rhythmische Gefühl auf einer Höhe, die ich dichterisch nennen möchte.'[2]

In Siegfried Kracauer's polemical *From Caligari to Hitler*, relatively little mention is made of Murnau and his films. In the face of his overriding obsession with advancing his argument of the foreboding implicit in the Weimar cinema, Kracauer's minimal references to stylistic devices and systems must be regarded with caution. He refers to two early Murnau films in the following passage:

> …the realistic farm drama *Brennender Acker* (*Burning Soil,* 1922), in which he [Murnau] is said to have furthered the action through sustained close shots of facial expressions. In *Vogelöd Castle* [*Schloß Vogelöd*], too, he knowingly used faces to reveal emotional undercurrents and orchestrate suspense. This early film moreover testified to Murnau's unique faculty of obliterating the boundaries between the real and the unreal.[3]

'That Murnau himself inclined towards realism is proved by his film comedy *Die Finanzen des Grossherzogs.*'[4] In his reference to *Tartüff*, Kracauer writes, 'Much as the camera hovered about, it subordinated itself always to Jannings and the other players instead of using them for purposes of its own.'[5]

The connection usually made between Murnau and *Cahiers du cinéma* is that *Sunrise* (1927) was chosen for the first position on the list published in *Cahiers du cinéma, no.* 90, December 1958 following the 'Confrontation des Meilleurs Films de Tous les Temps' in Brussels.

André Bazin's enthusiasm for Murnau's film style is well documented, with numerous references to Murnau's use of the long take and deep-focus photography. In Murnau, Bazin saw respect for the ontology of film, i.e., that film is obliged to respect reality. Murnau is seen to defend the integrity of the objective reality of the photographic image. Bazin elaborates in the following explanation:

> Murnau is interested not so much in time as in the reality of dramatic space. Montage plays no more of a decisive part in *Nosferatu* than in *Sunrise*. One might be inclined to think that the plastics of his image are impressionistic. But this would be a superficial view. The composition of his image is in no sense pictorial. It adds nothing to the reality, it does not deform, it forces it to reveal its structural depth, to bring out the preexisting relations which become constitutive of the drama.[6]

Bazin's high regard for Murnau's use of the long take and deep focus photography as well as his non-reliance on editing can be seen in Bazin's appraisal of Murnau as one of a small number of directors who can deservedly be considered an 'auteur'. There is a certain reverence with which Murnau and his films were treated by the French filmmakers Chabrol, Godard, Rivette, Rohmer, and Truffaut, whose writing style in general tends towards journalistic exuberance. He was indeed considered by the *Cahiers* group to be, along with Renoir, Welles, Dreyer, and other directors whose stylistic traits privilege mise en scène, one of the cinema's most gifted directors, and these French critics were certainly instrumental in enhancing his biographical legend.

Lotte Eisner must be considered a leading authority on Murnau, and an enormous influence on subsequent historical research on German silent film. *Murnau,* published in 1967, is the most extensive work thus far about Murnau[7], if one considers Eisner's first-hand access to primary documents, personal letters, and interviews with those who had known and worked with Murnau. Eisner is most well known, however, for her earlier influential and often-cited work *The Haunted Screen.*[8] In this study of the German silent cinema from 1913

to 1933, Eisner elaborates on four Murnau films: *Nosferatu. Eine Symphonie des Grauens*, *Der letzte Mann*, *Tartűff*, and *Faust*.

Of *Nosferatu*, Eisner states that unlike Lang and Lubitsch, Murnau 'saw all that nature had to offer in the way of fine images … Nature participates in the action: sensitive editing makes the bounding waves foretell the approach of the vampire.' Eisner points out the further use of editing by Murnau in the image of the advancing figure of the vampire from extreme depth to quickly filling the frame. She also mentions more delicate uses in the close-up of billowing sails which follows a high-angle shot of a raft in the rushing current.[9]

Foreshortening is a stylistic device which Eisner attributes to Murnau, as in his foreshortened view of a plague-ridden man in *Faust* which privileges the soles of the feet, an image which recalls Christ as depicted by Mantegna or Holbein.[10] In *Murnau*, Eisner gives examples of the Murnau's frequent use of foreground and depth, as in the placement of the tremendous image of the monk in *Faust* which serves to locate the image of the procession in great depth. The prologue of *Tartűff* features the large, sustained image of the old man's shoes in the foreground, which serves to elongate the corridor within the frame. Also mentioned by Eisner is the frequent use of this device in *Sunrise*; for example, the entrance of the 'woman from the city' into the peasants' home as they eat their soup in which the woman appears extremely small in relation to the magnitude of the lamp which is foregrounded. According to Eisner, 'the use of an enormous foreground figure to establish the proportion of the rest of the image seems in fact a characteristic element of Murnau's mature style.'[11]

Eisner considers the following four films to form the series of *Kammerspiele* in a peasant milieu: *Marizza, genannt die Schmugglermadonna, Der brennende Acker, Die Austreibung*, and *Sunrise*. Of *Der brennende Acker* she mentions 'the wonderful depth of focus in the low black-and-white tiled room at the farm, which forms a complete contrast with the huge airy room at the castle…Within these

atmospheric interiors the characters were arranged with enormous skill according to value and tone, even when they were in movement.' Murnau's sense of lighting, frequent use of depth of focus, *Stimmung* in a peasant setting, and lonely, wintry landscape are mentioned, and she recounts that the contemporary critics proclaimed 'the poetic charm of the snowy landscapes, and the marvellous lighting that reached its peak in the fire at the oil-well at night, surrounded by snow.'[12]

George A. Huaco's 1965 sociological study of three film 'waves of film art', German Expressionism, Soviet Expressive Realism, and Italian Neorealism, provides a list of formal attributes which identify various film styles for each of the film movements.[13] In the case of German Expressionism, stylistic markers such as diagonal, non-realistic compositions, play of light and shadow, camera mobility, sharp angles, and rejection of psychological characterisation in service of a unidimensional vision are listed, with no examples of specific films or directors given. His list of twenty-one films which he considers 'expressionist' is admittedly compiled from those films which film historians Bardèche and Brasillach, Sadoul, and Eisner consider 'expressionist'. Included in the group to which Huaco attributes the above German Expressionist formal attributes are four films which were directed by Murnau: *Nosferatu, Der letzte Mann, Tartűff,* and *Faust.* In his discussion of these four films, Huaco provides no stylistic analysis and commentary is limited primarily to plot summaries.

In *Behind the Screen: The History and Techniques of the Motion Picture,* Kenneth Macgowan makes the case that the technical innovations in *Der letzte Mann* must be credited to scriptwriter Carl Mayer and cameraman Karl Freund, rather than to Murnau. According to Macgowan, Mayer 'conceived scenes in terms of camera movement', and the camera moved 'forward or backward, as well as up or down, in scenes of considerable length' rather than the more typical series of separate shots.[14] Although Macgowan concedes that camera movement was occasionally effective in *Der letzte Mann*, he states a personal dislike

for 'the too common distractions of camera movement.' He does, however, strongly praise Carl Mayer and considers him in all practicality the 'co-director' on the films for which he wrote the filmscripts. These scripts indicated every camera shot and movement, and when he wrote his scripts, he used a camera viewfinder in order to identify the desired frame. Macgowan's comments are of interest in that Carl Mayer was responsible for seven of Murnau's filmscripts.

An early essay that points to specific aspects of Murnau's style can be found in Brian Henderson's 'The Long Take', in which he addresses the various stylistic concerns of Murnau, Ophuls, and Welles. Henderson sees the long take as part of a shooting style, a way of shooting and building sequences. 'In Murnau, "everything happens within the sequence", that is, each shot begins anew and does not (plastically, metaphysically) depend on the shot before or carry over to the shot following.'[15] Henderson does point out a notable exception found in *Nosferatu* in the expressive editing between Jonathan [Hutter] and Nina [Ellen] who are in different locations. Henderson states that '…Murnau, who would never use a reaction shot normally (preferring to put the parties to an action in the same frame and work out the action within the shot), uses editing solely to express mystical or non-spatial relations; that is, to treat widely-spread subjects as though they were in the same frame. This *is* an expressive use of editing, one beyond *mere* connection.' Nevertheless, Henderson finds this the exception and atypical of Murnau's style: 'for Murnau makes less use of expressive editing techniques than almost any other director. He is the classic case of the Bazinian ideal: the long-take director who uses editing for no other purpose than to link his shots.'[16]

In his study of cinema and society, Andrew Tudor discusses the German Expressionist cinema as an example of a film movement within a sociological framework. In his discussion of film directors such as Wiene, Lang, and Murnau, Tudor acknowledges that 'talents and affinities vary from director to director …Murnau was more subtle than

most … *Nosferatu* is actually defeated, and Murnau also seems least subject to the extremes of the "German style".' Tudor continues by stating that 'while *The Last Laugh* [*Der letzte Mann*] has the definite look of a German silent film, it is more restrained than usual, both visually and morally.'[17]

A sociological study that was published based on an academic thesis, Paul Monaco's *Cinema and Society. France and Germany during the Twenties* posits the emphatic imagery of the clock as a leitmotif in numerous German films, including *Nosferatu* and *Faust*. 'In *Nosferatu* danger is forewarned by shots of a clock, with a skeleton figure tapping away the seconds with a tiny hammer … in *Faust* the devil persuades Faust to make a pact with him by showing an hourglass with the sands running out of it quickly.' Monaco declares that 'in these German films the clock usually represents impending danger or disaster.'[18]

Jean-André Fieschi's fine essay on Murnau, published in 1980, reserves the majority of commentary for five of the primary films, *Nosferatu*, *Der letzte Mann*, *Tartüff*, *Faust*, and *Sunrise*, a critical analysis which attempts to come to terms with the seemingly disparate styles one finds among Murnau's films. In his pointed observations of the prevailing trends of much analytical research which he relegates to facile 'thematic forays [in which]…the same obsessional chain is traced from *Der Gang in die Nacht* (1920) to *Tabu* (1931)', Fieschi stresses the importance of careful examination of formal space, construction, and dramaturgy before proceeding with thematic concerns.[19] According to Fieschi, Murnau does not have one style which dominates his *oeuvre*, but rather several styles from which he could draw. What one does observe in Murnau is the systematic integrity of each of the films; that is, within each film a unity is maintained which is deemed appropriate for that film in particular, and this systematic integrity could take different forms from film to film. Fieschi states that Murnau approached each film separately 'as an arena for formal experiment' which was self-

contained; indeed, the symmetry extends to his construction of every scene.

As to Murnau's narrative construction in *Nosferatu*, Fieschi finds 'a fragmentation of the univocal, linear narrative [of Stoker's *Dracula*], and the construction instead of an imaginary space composed of intersections, collisions, analogies, repulsions which Murnau organized….'[20] Fieschi sees imaginary space as being produced by signs within the movement of narrative space and formal space, which 'imposes an operational logic which articulates a narrative space-time, then entirely new, in which the signs put into circulation refer back and forth to each other in a circulatory process connected on many levels of the story. An essentially poetic montage is established, comprising multiple attractions and reverberations.'[21] Fieschi finds this 'visual and narrative architecture' to be astonishingly sophisticated in *Nosferatu* and that 'such mastery in the organization of narrative signs, forms and techniques was unrivalled in 1922.'[22]

Klaus Becker, the editor and contributor of *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. Ein großer Filmregisseur der Zwanziger Jahre*, has compiled a biographical and critical study which originates from Kassel. Although Murnau was born in Bielefeld, he spent fourteen of his early years in Kassel, a fact which, according to Becker, is ignored in the literature in lieu of the search for 'Westphalian' traits. Becker's work offers commendable commentary on Murnau and his films, and particularly noteworthy is the discussion of films which at present are considered non-extant, such as *Der Bucklige und die Tänzerin* and *Die Austreibung*. Of the latter, Becker writes 'Man hat diesen Film ein „bäuerliches Kammerspiel" genannt, da Murnau sich hier die Chance nicht entgehen ließ, wiederum der Natur, diesmal der schlesischen Gebirgslandschaft, eine zentrale Rolle zuzuweisen und dennoch die in diesem Stück angelegten seelischen Konflikte mit äußerster Exaktheit nach-zuzeichnen.'[23]

In his influential and often-cited essay, 'Film History and Visual Pleasure: Weimar Cinema', Thomas Elsaesser discusses Murnau's use of the 'unchained camera' as exemplifying 'the typically German emphasis on effects created "in the camera"…The celebrated "subjectivity" of Carl Mayer, Murnau and Karl Freund in their use of the "unchained camera" is both an effect of how space is organized on and off screen in relation to movement, and an attempt to "narrativize" and anthropomorphize the possibilities inherent in the camera's non-human vision.' In addition, Elsaesser makes mention of 'Murnau's fades on white' as having more in common with Michael Snow than with Griffith's use of fades.[24]

Elsaesser's 1988 essay in *Sight and Sound* addresses what he sees as the common misconception of Murnau as an Expressionist director and he looks to other sources of inspiration for Murnau, including the Swedish cinema. Elsaesser treats style, narration, and space and light separately and draws from examples in the films. 'Murnau preferred light to come into the frame from an unknown source, or to exaggerate the effects of a visible light source…this practice has direct implications about motivation and causality, leaving both ambiguous. It thus is chiefly responsible for "psychologising" the protagonists (the German speciality), in contrast to the American cinema's concern with motivational realism.'[25] In attempting to explain the often-mentioned visual poetry found in Murnau's films, Elsaesser summarises:

> But as a look at his style can show, much of his experimentation with space, shape, light and rhythm was designed to wrest the cinema from the hold that theatre had over the German art cinema, while not falling prey to the fascination of the real itself. In this respect, his films are also about the possibilities of cinema, trying to discover what forms emerge when inherent qualities of the medium – the discontinuity of shot from shot, spatial symmetries or gestural repetitions, alterations and visual rhymes – are explored systematically.[26]

With the emergence of New Film History in the early to mid-1980s came a more precise, detailed view of film analysis, with a focus on singular aspects of a problem in an attempt to avoid overarching

conclusions. Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery's book *Film History: Theory and Practice* appeared in 1985 as a 'guidebook' to various film historical approaches of New Film History. Murnau's *Sunrise* was chosen by the authors as an example of a case study of aesthetic film history.[27] *Sunrise* is referred to as 'narratively conventional but stylistically self-conscious' in its 'force-perspective sets, probing camera, compositional precision, use of off-screen space, vaguely European décor, and "expressionistic" acting.'[28] That Murnau is linked in some manner with Expressionism is also expressed by David R. Carter, who states that in regard to the general conception of which films undeniably adhere to the established concept of expressionist cinema, '*Das Kabinett des Dr Caligari* (1919) and *Nosferatu* (1921/1922) are accepted as part of the canon as a matter of course.'[29]

Frederick W. Ott's 'masterpiece history' *The Great German Films* includes background information, plot summaries, and anecdotal commentary of *Der letzte Mann* and *Faust.* Murnau is referred to as a 'poet and dreamer … which was reflected in the rhythm and imagery of his films.' His tireless dedication to the process of filmmaking is also mentioned.[30] Ott's discussion of *Faust* includes recollections by the art director Robert Herlth who, together with Walter Röhrig, collaborated with Murnau in designing the sets. Murnau's preference for simple interiors which allow the actors to dominate the setting is mentioned, as well as the pro-filmic space in Faust's study and the marketplace. Herlth recounts that 'Faust's study was not designed as a single room but in accordance with the shots that had been decided on, in four separate shots built one after the other.' The marketplace was 'constructed obliquely in order that the townspeople, panic stricken by the plague, would be forced to move in a confused pattern.' Herlth is also quoted as to Murnau's use of 'shadowy' lighting in *Faust*. The atmosphere was achieved by smoke created by ignited film stock which was then directed into the pro-filmic space, creating a filmic chiaroscuro image which Ott compares with 'a Rembrandt etching'.[31]

On the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of Murnau's birth in 1988, numerous publications concerning Murnau and his films appeared, some perhaps unintentionally, but certainly the film screenings, books, and articles in film journals were timed to coincide with this event, thus increasing the level of interest in Murnau at that time. One study probably not linked to this occasion is Jo Leslie Collier's *From Wagner to Murnau: the Transposition of Romanticism from Stage to Screen* in which she posits a connecting link among Wagner, Reinhardt, and Murnau, the bond being the German romantic theatrical tradition. These links seem quite strained at times, as in the connections she attempts to make between *Schloß Vogelöd* and *Parsifal*, *Sunrise* and *Tannhäuser* and so on, but Collier does devotes a substantial portion of her analysis of Murnau to formal and stylistic concerns, enumerating the following traits:

> Murnau's long-take, deep-focus cinematography, his use of the moving camera, his preference for the long shot rather than the close-up, his *chiaroscuro*, his arresting use of shadow and silhouette, the simplicity and suggestiveness of his settings, his preference for location shooting over studio shooting, his tendency to compose within the frame along a diagonal axis, his attempts to eliminate or at least minimize titles, and above all his unique violation of the film frame, violation of spatial continuity, and opposition of the word and image.…[32]

In her discussion of the above 'violation of the film frame', Collier points to Murnau's various uses of off-screen space, his disregard for the integrity of the frame, and the sudden invasion of the frame, as in the piercing prow of the ship in *Nosferatu* which is repeated in *Tabu*, as well as the horse's head in *Sunrise.*[33] '…Murnau's long takes and long shots, his moving camera, his dissolves and superimpositions suggest a cinema of emphatic spatio-temporal continuity and by extension of seamlessness and transparency…'[34]

Fred Gehler and Ullrich Kasten's *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau* provides an account which relies heavily on the writings of Lotte Eisner. Gehler and Kasten devote little space to the discussion of style, preferring to offer both a biographical background and the historical

circumstances surrounding the films. In addition, nine of Murnau's articles, stories, and interviews are presented. In regard to style, the authors state the following:

> Arbeitet Murnau in den frühen Filmen noch mit starken Kontrasten zwischen Hell und Dunkel, so bevorzugt er später eine diffuse Ausleuchtung. Bei dieser Ausleuchtung gewinnt der Bildraum zusätzliche Plastik durch die Bewegung der Darsteller und der Kamera. Weitere charakteristische Merkmale der Murnauschen Stilistik treten gleichfalls schon in den Anfängen auf und werden fortwährend variabler genutzt. Etwa die berühmte Tiefenwirkung, um die Räumlichkeit der Bilder sichtbar zu machen. Verschieden ausgeleuchtete Zonen des Bildes werden mit einer Bewegung in der Tiefe kombiniert....[35]

A second book entitled *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau* was published in 1990 as Number 43 of the Reihe Film series which is published in conjunction with the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek. In addition to insightful essays, this book offers one of the most exhaustive bibliographies assembled about Murnau and his films. Frieda Grafe contributes a substantial essay in which she discusses Murnau's methods of working, his stylistic approaches, as well as formal and stylistic analysis of his films, of which she makes the following comments:

> In Murnaus frühen Filmen ließen die Naturaufnahmen – im *Gang in die Nacht*, im *Brennenden Acker* –, so unverbunden sie waren, sich auffassen als äußere Bilder dem Innenzustand der Personen entsprechend.[36]

> Die Kameraperspektive ist die Umkehrung der alten, geometrisch-malerischen. Der Vordergrund beansprucht die größere Aufmerksamkeit. Murnau, genau wie Dreyer, besteht auf der spezifischen Flächigkeit der Filmbilder. *Tartüff* handelt von und mit den beiden Perspektiven.[37]

In *Schloß Vogelöd* 'benutzt Murnau, wozu er später die bewegte Kamera benutzte, Irisblenden, die den Blick des Zuschauers dem Film involvieren. Irisblenden, eine beliebte Konvention im frühen Stummfilm zur Interpunktion der Erzählabläufe, werden von Murnau zur Augenbewegung benutzt, zur Definition filmischen Sehens im Unterschied zur Betrachtung und zu gemalten Bildern.'[38] Concerning

Murnau's use of lighting, Grafe states 'Das Licht in Murnaus Filmen entwickelt sich von der dramatischen, kontrastgeprägten Beleuchtung seiner frühen Filme zur Transparenz seiner Hauptwerke, so diffus wie seine Kamera bewegt. Dadurch wird es weder wahrscheinlicher noch realistischer.'[39]

In his discussion of Murnau's first film *Der Knabe in Blau* (1919), which is non-extant with only 27 photos surviving, Enno Patalas points out that in addition to this film which draws from Gainsborough's 'Blue Boy', 'in *Nosferatu*, *Schloss Vogelöd*, im *Brennenden Acker* sind Wände ähnlich mit Bildern bestückt, sie bringen Bewegung in das Verhältnis von innen und außen.'[40]

In an interview with Frieda Grafe and Enno Patalas dealing specifically with Murnau, the French film director Eric Rohmer states:

> Bei Murnau gibt es zwei Tendenzen, die expressionistische des Dekors, die im *Faust* überwiegt, und dann gibt es die realistische Richtung, schon im *Nosferatu* mit seinen natürlichen Dekors. Nach meiner Meinung liegt Murnaus Genie mehr in seinem Realismus. Manche Dekors im *Faust* sind nicht überzeugend … aber mir wäre lieber, Murnau hätte auch da zu seinen eigenen Raumformen gefunden, in natürlichen Dekors, wie man es später in *Tabu* sehen kann.[41]

In this publication, Fritz Göttler contributes a 'Kommentierte Filmografie' of extant Murnau films. He notes in his discussion of *Der Gang in die Nacht*, 'Ein heftiger Kontrast is schon in diesem Film zwischen Innen und Außen, Atelier und location, ein gewaltiger Kampf zwischen Kultur und Natur, zwischen Verlangen und Zurückhaltung. Aus der Ordnung bürgerlicher Interieurs führt der Weg direkt auf eine vom Sturm umtoste Insel.'[42] Göttler also discusses the openness of *Nosferatu*, its depictions of landscape and contrast of interiors and exteriors. The function of the slow pace of *Der brennende Acker* is also mentioned in conjunction with the *Bauern-Kammerspiele*, including comments by Kurt Pinthus on Murnau's non-extant *Die Austreibung* in particular.[43]

The Spanish film historian Luciano Berriatúa is considered a leading authority on Murnau, and is responsible for a film on Murnau made for Spanish television, which was also screened at the Bologna film festival in 1997. Berriatúa's major work *Los proverbios chinos de F.W. Murnau* contributes not only consummate film scholarship, but offers the most handsome two-volume set available on Murnau. The title refers to this remark attributed to Murnau: 'The Chinese have an ancient proverb: "A picture is worth more than ten thousand words".'[44] The two volumes are delineated by Murnau's years in Germany and the years he spent in the United States and Tahiti, creating a substantial work which addresses primarily formal and stylistic issues. Numerous still frames from Murnau's films are examined in reference to paintings and etchings by artists such as Edvard Munch and Käthe Kollwitz[45], the majority of which display a striking similarity; however, in contrast to the many critical authors who eagerly acknowledge Murnau's art historical background at the University of Heidelberg as an explanation for his sense of composition, Berriatúa does not attempt to draw strong conclusions as to direct influence.

In questions of film style, Barry Salt's work must be seen as an ambitious scientific approach to statistical analysis. Through calculations of average shot length (ASL) in an effort to determine various cutting rates, he has drawn conclusions as to both national and individual stylistic practices. Although his *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* covers the years from 1895 to the late 1980s, more than half of the commentary is devoted to silent film. References to Murnau and his films are quite scarce, however, although Salt does comment that a frequent source of lighting in Murnau's early films was diffuse sunlight shining through the roof of the studio.[46] Salt also offers the following technical explanation:

> In 1922 Murnau's *Phantom* contains what seems to be the first attempt at what later became the standard method of suggesting a subjective feeling of dizziness, or vertigo, or loss of consciousness in a character in a film. In this film there were a

> series of moderately long shots joined by dissolves, each shot rotating about the central point of the screen. (The rotation of these shots was achieved in various ways; partly by building special small sets which were actually rotated in front of the camera, and partly by putting a special rotating prism in front of the lens to produce the effect in a purely optical manner).[47]

In Salt's analysis of ASL, he finds Murnau's films to be consistent with other German filmmakers of the period, with ASL values for *Schloß Vogelöd* at 9.5 seconds, *Der letzte Mann* at 10.0 seconds and *Tartüff* at 6.5 seconds, the latter being considered a faster cutting rate than normal for German films.

3.1.3 Specific Affirmations of Murnau's Affinities with Swedish Silent Cinema

With few exceptions, almost all books and articles written about Murnau, including those from scholars such as Lotte Eisner, Thomas Elsaesser, and Luciano Berriatúa, mention an affinity with Swedish films of the 1910s, but briefly and without substance. Aspects which are commonly mentioned include the use of landscape and natural settings, as well as the greater naturalism in Murnau's early work which is also found to be a common stylistic trait in Swedish silent film. The following citations are arranged as closely as possible in chronological order:

Fritz Olimsky in *Film-Kurier*

After praising the merits of *Der Gang in die Nacht* and *Nosferatu*, Olimsky writes 'Und wiederum war es ein Erlebnis, als sein *Brennender Acker* herauskam, der erste Fall, in dem die wundervolle Innerlichkeit der Schweden sinngemäß auf den deutschen Film übertragen ist.' Olimsky later describes an interview which he had with Murnau in which the director stated 'Meist ist der Film zu Ende, bevor man den Schauspielern das Schauspielen abgewöhnt hat [und] daß noch unsere Künstler lernen sollten von den Schweden.'

(in 'Deutsche Regisseure: F.W. Murnau', *Film-Kurier*, Nr. 198, 11 September 1922)

Süddeutsche Zeitung

(On *Die Austreibung*) 'Wir haben erneut hier einen Film vor uns, der den glänzendsten schwedischen Vorbildern in nichts etwas nachgibt…namentlich die Schneesturmepisoden stellen einen Glanzpunkt deutscher technischer Leistungsfähigkeit dar…'

(in *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* 19 October 1923)

Siegfried Kracauer

'Caligari initiates a long procession of 100 per cent studio-made films. Whereas, for instance, the Swedes at that time went to great pains to capture the actual appearance of a snowstorm or a wood, the German directors, at least until 1924, were so infatuated with indoor effects that they built up whole landscapes within the studio walls.'

(in *From Caligari to Hitler*, 1947, p. 74)

(On *Schloß Vogelöd*) '…a crime picture visibly influenced by the Swedes ….' (in *From Caligari to Hitler*, 1947, p. 78)

René Orth in *Kasseler Zeitung*

'Genauso wie *der ihm verwandte* [my italics] Victor Sjöström, wie Fritz Lang und der Garbo-Regisseur Maurice [sic] Stiller ging F.W. Murnau Mitte der zwanziger Jahre nach Hollywood.

(in 'Als Satanas noch auf der Leinwand erschien',
Kasseler Zeitung, 10 March 1956)

Jean Mitry

'Je n'ai rencontré Murnau qu'une seule fois, à l'occasion d'une réception à l'Hôtel Ritz, après la présentation de l'*Aurore* [*Sunrise*]. … Je lui ai demandé, entre autres : « Quel est pour vous le plus beau film du monde ? » Sans hésiter il m'a répondu : « *Le Trésor d'Arne* [Mauritz Stiller's *Herr Arnes pengar*]. C'est le film qui m'a fait la plus forte impression. Dans un registre plus sombre et sans doute plus germanique, j'ai essayé d'atteindre à une semblable perfection. Si j'y suis arrivé parfois dans l'*Aurore* comme on veut bien me l'assurer, j'ai tout lieu d'en être fier. »'

(in *Histoire du cinéma*, Vol. 2, 1969, p. 423)

'Chez Murnau dont l'art demeure profondément réaliste sous des dehors plus ou moins expressionnistes (en quoi il se rapproche singuliêrement des Suédois), il semble que la prise de conscience (son thème majeur) soit l'accomplissement de quelque valeur transcendantale, mais … cette optique tient à ce que, chez lui, la *N*ature, les *E*léments, le paysage sont en fonction des états d'âme.'

(in *Histoire du cinéma*, Vol. 3, p. 412)

Lotte Eisner and References Mentioned in her Writings

'Murnau was one of the few German film-directors to have the innate love for landscape more typical of the Swedes …and he was always reluctant to resort to artifice.'

(in *The Haunted Screen*, 1969, p. 100)

Eisner refers to a review of *Phantom* on 23 November 1922 in the *Roland von Berlin* which mentions that 'the superimposed image of the carriage with the white horse keeps reappearing, as in Victor Sjöström's *Phantom Carriage* (1920).' From the phrasing, it is difficult to determine whether the analogy to Sjöström's *Körkarlen* originally appeared in the 1922 review or whether this comment was added by Eisner.

(in *Murnau*, 1973, p. 49)

Eisner quotes the Austrian writer Arnold Höllriegel from his 1927 *Hollywood Bilderbuch* in his observations of Murnau during the making of *Sunrise*. Höllriegel states that although Murnau comes from the theatre, he sees the world through the camera lens and thinks directly in images. Höllriegel proceeds to describe the Swedish Mauritz Stiller as a genius who also thinks in images, but images that are dramatic.

(in *Murnau*, p. 85)

Eisner writes of an interview with Edgar G. Ulmer, who collaborated on *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* and *Sunrise*, in which he 'spoke of various visits by Murnau to Sweden, even several years before the tests Ekman did for *Faust*.' Whether the source of the following statements was Ulmer or Eisner is ambiguous: '…when [Murnau] made *Nosferatu*, the idea of using negative for the phantom forest came to him from Sjöström's *Phantom Carriage* [*Körkarlen*], which had been made in 1920. Above all he had a love-hatred for Mauritz Stiller, whose *Herr Arne's Treasure* [*Herr Arnes pengar*] he couldn't help admiring. And so Murnau, the descendant of ancient Swedish ancestors, exposed himself to the influence of the classic Swedish cinema at its source.'

(in *Murnau* pp. 87-88)

'…Gerhart Lamprecht pointed out that *Der Gang in die Nacht* recalled the Danish films of 1915-16, and that Murnau must have been influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by the method of directing actors then prevalent. This would explain a style which is astonishly old-fashioned for the beginning of the twenties. But what is equally striking is the love of landscape and the feeling for nature, closer to the Swedish than to the Danish cinema.' (in *Murnau*, pp. 95-96)

[Theodore Huff states in his *Index* that *Schloß Vogelöd*] 'is plainly influenced by the Swedish school, and is notable for atmosphere and impressionistic sets which projected the lonely feelings of a young couple living in a deserted castle. The conjecture about the Swedish influence is safe enough….' (in *Murnau* p. 101)

(On *City Girl*) 'One German critic wrote that…the style and direction recalled the mastery of *Sunrise* and the best early work of Sjöström.' (in *Murnau* p. 200.)

Die dämonische Leinwand, the later, expanded German version of Eisner's *The Haunted Screen* (originally *L'Ecran Démoniaque* [1952]) contains the following texts which do not appear in the English language version:

'Erinnert uns die *Chronik von Grieshuus* weiterhin so sehr an einen schwedischen Film, weil Gerlach ein typisch nordisches Sujet von dem aus Schleswig stammenden Dichter Theodor Storm gewählt hat? Sind es die Außenaufnahmen, der Sinn für Naturlandschaften, die diesen Film, wie etwa auch Murnaus *Nosferatu*, von anderen nur im Atelier gedrehten deutschen Filmen unterscheiden?'
(in *Die dämonische Leinwand*, 1979, p. 52)

As examples of Murnau's obsession with inanimate objects, Eisner specifies the empty, swinging hammock of a dead sailor and the reflection of the swinging lamp in *Nosferatu*, as well as the swinging chandelier in *Faust*. Eisner's expanded German version continues: 'Unabhängig von Murnau bringt Sjöström in seinem in Amerika gedrehten *Wind* eien ähnliche Wirkung: hier wird die durch Sturm und Einsamkeit verängstigt kauernde Lillian Gish unter dem schwankenden Lampenschein einmal von Licht, einmal von Schatten überströmt.'
(in *Die dämonische Leinwand*, p. 102)

Gertrud Koch, *Frankfurter Rundschau*

This article, which was written in conjunction with the Murnau retrospective at the Kommunalen Kino, considers a number of interesting points, among which is Murnau's comparison with the Swedish cinema:

"Nicht ganz zu Unrecht wurde Murnau mitunter mit den Regisseuren des schwedischen Stummfilms verglichen: Er ist einer der großen Inszenierer von Natur als expressivem Ausdrucksmittel, wobei ihn freilich von schwedischen Stummfilm trennt, daß er Natur niemals naturalistisch-dokumentarisch als "Materie" den Leidenschaften der Menschen konfrontiert, sondern Naturbilder inszeniert in einem fast animistischen Sinne, als mimetische Reaktion…Die Differenz zum

Mystizismus der schwedischen Stummfilm-Natur kennzeichnet erst recht die Verwendung von Negativmaterial für die Bilder aus den Karpaten im *Nosferatu*: Wo im schwedischen Film noch die Einheit von Natur und Mensch hypostasiert wird, wenn auch als vernichtende, gerät Murnau die Natur bereits zur Funktion der Seele des Menschen, eher romantisch als atavistisch….'

(in 'Bilder aus der Natur des Inneren',
Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 January 1979)

Jean-André Fieschi

Fieschi discusses two aesthetic approaches which he considers to be influential in shaping Murnau's own distinct stylistic choices. Murnau's first film was made in 1919, the same year as *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, the release of which was instrumental in encouraging a reversion to earlier stylistic practices, such as the frontal camera and flat perspectives, as a way of rejecting realism. Fieschi continues with a nod to Louis Delluc:[48]

'But this influence is balanced by another, contradictory, one: the influence of the Swedish cinema – Sjöström, and above all Stiller – with its photogenic locations and brilliant natural luminosity. With Sjöström's *The Outlaw and His Wife* [*Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru*] (1918) a "masterly" new character was universally hailed: the landscape.'

(in *Cinema. A Critical Dictionary*, Richard Roud (ed.), 1980, p. 705)

Klaus Becker

'Wenn Murnau später als ein Regisseur bezeichnet wird, der ein „angeborenes Gefühl für die Naturlandschaft" hat, wie es zu jener Zeit nur noch schwedische Regisseure aufwiesen….' (in *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau: Ein großer Filmregisseur der Zwanziger Jahre*, p. 23.)

(On the use of the sea in *Der Gang in die Nacht*) 'Murnau griff diese Möglichkeit hier zum erstenmal bewußt auf, etwas, das zuvor hauptsächlich die skandinavischen Regisseure getan hatten, während der mittel- und südeuropäische Film noch reiner Studiofilm war and die Natur zu vermeiden suchte.'

(in *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau: Ein großer Filmregisseur der Zwanziger Jahre,* 1981, p. 46.)

Rune Waldekranz

The Swedish film historian Rune Waldekranz states that certain of Murnau's early films depict the border of dreams and reality, and was strongly influenced by the visual depiction and chiaroscuro (ljusdunkel)

photography in Sjöström's and Stiller's films. Waldekranz also mentions the Swedish influence in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, in particular.[49]

(in *Filmens historia*, p. 70; also *Filmens historia. De första hundra år*, Vol. 2, 1985 p. 196)

Klaus Kreimeier (ed.), Stadt Bielefeld

(On *Der Gang in die Nacht*) 'Eine überaus melodramatische Geschichte voller skandinavischer Schwermut….' (in the publication for the exhibition *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau 1888-1988*, Klaus Kreimeier (ed.), Stadt Bielefeld, p. 24.)

Thomas Elsaesser

'The work of directors like Viktor Sjöström and Mauritz Stiller, Urban Gad and Benjamin Christensen is marked by outdoor realism, a poetic treatment of landscape, and a very controlled, understated portrayal of psychological or even frankly melodramatic conflicts – no doubt indebted to the drama of Strindberg and Ibsen, as well as the novels of Knut Hamsun or Selma Lagerlöf, but realised in a visual style unique to Denmark and Sweden among European cinema nations during the formative period between 1909 and 1919. Most of these 'Scandinavian' features are to be found in Murnau….'

(in *Weimar Cinema and After*, p. 228, expanded from his 'Secret Affinities', *Sight and Sound*, Winter 1988/89, p. 35.)

Luciano Berriatúa

In his discussion of *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Berriatúa states that in this film we discover a Murnau who was greatly influenced by the Nordic cinema, and already in possession of many of the dramatic resources used in his later films. Berriatúa continues that Murnau used landscape in this film with even more impact than the manner used in Danish and Swedish film. Murnau was without doubt inspired by the Swedish cinema, but the dramatic use of landscape he learnt from Romantic painting.

'…esta película es una pequeña obra maestra y en ella descubrimos un Murnau muy influido por el cine nórdico y ya en posesión de la mayor parte de los recursos dramáticos que utilizará en sus films posteriores…Y también llamó la atención su utilización del paisaje de un modo aún más impactante que su empleo en el cine danés y sueco. Murnau sin duda se inspiraba en el cine sueco, pero la utilización dramática del paisaje la había aprendido de la pintura romántica.'

(in *Los proverbios chinos de F. W. Murnau,* 1990, p. 104)

Patrick Vonderau

Vonderau has taken up the question of Swedish-German film relations from the point of an investigation into the possibly influential role of the 'Schwedenfilm' in film production in the Weimar cinema. Of additional interest is the manner in which Swedish films were marketed in Germany and the public and, more importantly, critical reception of the films in the contemporary press. Stating that he is not offering an exhaustive individual analysis of these films, he chooses Murnau's *Der brennende Acker* as a single case study to determine whether in a German feature film a link with the production strategy of introspection [Innerlichkeit] and aesthetics of the Swedish cinema can be observed. Following a 1922 quote in *Berliner Börsen-Courier* which refers to Sjöström's *Tösen från Stormyrtorpet* as clear and pure and *Der brennende Acker* as calculated and kitsch, Vonderau writes:

'Sofern *Der brennende Acker* als Einzelbeispiel Schlußfolgerungen ermöglicht, stellt sich die Frage, wie die oben zitierten Einschätzungen und Selbstaussagen von Fachautoren bzw. Filmemachern zur Neuorientierung der deutschen an der schwedischen Produktion zu bewerten sind. Eingedenk der hohen Verflechtung von film-publizistischen und filmindustriellen Interessen in der frühen Weimarer Republik liegt die Antwort nahe, "Innerlichkeit" sei vor allem als produktionsökonomisches Konzept adaptiert und propagiert, aber nicht in einer adäquaten stilistischen Form realisiert worden.'

(in 'Bilder vom Norden. Schwedisch-deutsche Filmbeziehungen 1921-22', *Die kulturelle Konstruktion von Gemeinschaften. Schweden und Deutschland im Modernisierungsprozeß*, 2001, pp.188-189)

Thomas Koebner

'Murnaus frühen Filmen ist wiederholt eine Nähe zum Schwedenfilm der Victor Sjöström und Mauritz Stiller nachgesagt worden, sowohl wegen seiner mikrodramatischen Intensität als auch aufgrund der Grenzüberschreitung ins Reich der allgegenwärtigen Geister. Doch im Rückblick erscheint als ebenso auffällig Murnaus Nähe zur Strindbergschen Analyse der radikalen Desintegration in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung, der unlösbaren Krise, die keine Aussicht auf irdisches oder überirdisches Heil eröffnet, der Triebgesteuertheit von Menschen, die ihre Pein vergeblich hinter moralisierenden Strategien verstecken.'

(in 'Der romantische Preuße', *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. Ein Melancholiker des Films*, Hans Helmut Prinzler (ed.), 2003, pp. 15, 17)

3.1.4 Murnau's Early Formal and Stylistic Systems based on Textual Analysis

For purposes of comparison with the critical literature, the author's findings as to Murnau's style and narrative form based on filmic texts are generalised below. Textual analysis necessarily entails close readings of Murnau's early extant films; therefore, a discussion of secondary sources which include films currently considered to be non-extant is presented with the author's detailed textual analysis in Sections 3.2 through 3.5 of this chapter.

F.W. Murnau is widely considered to be one of the silent cinema's most distinctive and yet subtle directors. An intangible 'poetic' quality is often ascribed to his films, but his early work in particularly is rarely subject to systematic analysis of the numerous elements. He has without reservation been referred to as an auteur, but one strains to find a consistency of style and theme present in his work. Many studies of Murnau attempt to trace a common thread through all of his films; there appears to be not one style as such, but rather that Murnau considered each individual film as its own entity, and within each isolated work he kept a congruency of elements and a consistency of purpose which he considered appropriate to the entirety. This would vary from film to film. For the most part, stylistic elements do not appear at random, but rather have defined functions in his films.

Unlike his contemporary Dreyer, Murnau was not responsible for his own screenplays, these being provided most often by Carl Mayer and Thea von Harbou. It is true that the scripts for his early films were adapted from popular novels and serialised stories which dealt with rather exotic and supernatural elements and promoted sensational themes. Even his films which drew from more highly regarded English literary sources, such as R.L. Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* have been understood as contributing to the misnomer of Murnau's Expressionist leanings. There is then the tendency for a link to be created which ties *Der Januskopf* to

Nosferatu and then to *Faust* in an attempt to make a case for Murnau's predilection for the 'fantastic' film genre. As can be seen from the screenplay of *Nosferatu*, Murnau's notations to Henrik Galeen's script were actually quite minimal and indicated primarily pictorial qualities rather than thematic or narrative. It seems quite clear in Murnau's work that formal and perceptual issues take precedence over thematic ones. A strong visual style is evident which consistently transcends the scripts.

Perhaps the most consistent reference to Murnau's film style includes his use of natural landscapes, while use of purpose-built studio sets were more common amongst German directors. Murnau filmed on location at a time when the overwhelming majority of German films were, by choice, filmed in the studio. Fritz Lang's *Nibelungen* films are a well-known example of the effort and cost expended to recreate nature inside the studio. Certainly within Germany Murnau appeared to be quite exceptional and without precedent in his use of nature as a narrative catalyst. An attempt to search for similarities in every film, however, can result in false interpretation by 'reading in'. There are, for example, merely five outdoor, non-studio shots in *Schloß Vogelöd*; one of these, however, is an interior shot with a view of a balcony and gardens beyond (Fig. 20), and the fifth is an uninhabited lakeside landscape which functions as an 'atmospheric insert'.

It has, however, been repeatedly suggested that Murnau had an affinity with landscape, and nature does indeed figure prominently in a number of his works, encompassing the use of landscape and natural settings as well as spatial articulation between human beings and nature. Murnau's representation of nature during these early years includes the filming of both natural landscapes and cultivated land, with the use of constructed reproductions of nature not appearing prominently until his later films; these demonstrate the effect of filming on location combined with careful shooting of constructed sets which produced a unique mixture of stylisation and natural landscape. As the presence of landscape in his films has become such a large part of his

biographical legend, one might ask why outdoor filming should be considered unique when, at that time, films in countries other than Germany were filming on location, and the American western was already an established genre. The key difference may lie in the common use of nature in most national cinemas as merely a convenient backdrop or as is evidenced in Norwegian silent films, as an 'attraction', whereas like the Swedish cinema, the landscape in the films of Murnau is often used both psychologically and metaphorically, but unlike Eisenstein, the connection is logical and an intrinsic part of the story. It was Murnau's ambition to 'photograph thought' which he sought to achieve by the use of either special photographic effects or the use of landscape and setting in order to convey states of mind, emotions, or ideas.

In particular, examples from the natural world are used as motifs or parallels in displaying characters' emotions, introspection, and contemplation. A clear example of nature used as a metaphor for psychological conflict and upheavals can be found in a climatic scene of betrayal in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. The landscape's transition from a scene of calm seaside cliffs to a stormy seascape of violent gusts of wind reflects the protagonist's intense jealous rage. Earlier in the same film, an electrical storm parallels Lily's emotional turmoil. An example of the function of nature in *Der brennende Acker* includes the expanse of ice and snow across which Helene trudges in her despair as she arrives at the decision to drown herself. Amongst Murnau's many striking scenes of water are the identical arrivals in the small rowboat of the Painter (Fig. 21) and later Börne (Fig. 22) in Der *Gang in die Nacht* and the determined resoluteness of the Empusa and its portentous arrival at the harbour in *Nosferatu*. A contrast can be seen cheerful mood of the Duke as he throws coins to the local boys swimming in the bright, sparkling water below the cliff at the beginning of *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs*.

If any claim can be made for a recurring thread which runs through the group of films, it might be the juxtaposition of opposites or contrasting poles which on occasion addresses the duality of the

country and the city. The dichotomy of rural and urban settings often have at their root a strong conflict of values, with the peasants emphasising the virtues of family life and permanence as opposed to the shallow relationships and corruption of the city. This group of peasant films which are linked in the critical literature consists of *Marizza, genannt die Schmugglermadonna*, *Der brennende Acker*, *Die Austreibung*, and extends to include Murnau's films *Sunrise* and *City Girl* which he made for Fox Studios. His identification with nature was expressed in his often-cited poetic treatment of landscape, in which nature becomes a dramaturgic factor which gives depth to characters and objects, illuminating human conflicts and emotions. In *Sunrise* and *City Girl*, Murnau uses an idealised rural setting as a purifying counterbalance to the corruption and artificiality of the city. This theme is also found in the idyllic island settings in *Tabu* and *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* which are threatened by the exploitation and corruption from outside. This contrast is reversed, however, in *Nosferatu*, in which the destructive force is found in the countryside and proceeds to contaminate the city. It should be stressed that Murnau's approach was always one of the Romanticist, and the type of sharp social commentary found in the work of Lang and Pabst is not evident in his films.

Murnau wrote about his preference for eliminating or at least reducing the need for intertitles, but with the well-known exception of *Der letzte Mann*, one finds a dependence on intertitles to convey narrative information which conforms with the standard practice in Germany; his final film *Tabu*, which was an independent production filmed in Tahiti, successfully achieves his desire for narrative coherence through pictures, but does not have bearing on Murnau's earlier films produced in Germany. Not only are both expository and dialogue titles consistently presents in his films, but diegetic inserts which contain text are also regularly used to convey information. Items such as diary entries, book excerpts, newspapers, and letters can appear either as passive announcements, as in Helene in *Der Gang in die Nacht* re-

reading her own diary entries and at the same time allowing the viewer to share her deepest thoughts, or as narrative information communicated actively to another character as with the numerous letters, newspapers, and books which appear in the various films. There is no instance of a non-diegetic insert in the extant films directed by Murnau.

Murnau's first feature film appeared in 1919, the same year as *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, but he was unsympathetic to this movement. He felt that this and the similarly inspired films which followed showed little trace of the director's hand, but rather that of the set designers. The visual qualities of his films are quite different from the often garish sets, distortion of reality, and stylised, expressionist acting used for the sake of direct expressive effect in such films as *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, *Von Morgen bis Mitternacht*, and *Torgus*. These appear stage-bound and are shot by a stationary frontal camera. The two-dimensionality is enhanced by the flat, bright light on the painted, distorted surfaces; Murnau's films, including *Nosferatu*, display a complete lack of these graphically distorted sets. It was imperative for him that films should reflect the director's personal cinematic vision rather than retaining focus on the sets, resulting in simply a filmed play.

Although at times the use of cutting for dramatic effect can be found as, for example, in *Nosferatu*, Murnau is considered to be a director who privileged mise-en-scène elements. He also felt that space should be adapted around the actor. He did not arbitrarily place actors in pre-conceived sets, but rather thought in terms of visually filling the space around an actor, for example, as Nosferatu enters Hutter's room. In Lotte Eisner's discussion of Murnau's use of inanimate objects as an important component of his style, she focuses on the movement caused by swinging objects.[50] An observation in the present research, however, addresses his prevalent use of clocks as a method of amplifying both the importance of time in the narrative and the inanimate objects' significance in regards to specific characters. The clock in *Der Gang in*

die Nacht is shown repeatedly, creating suspense and tension as it slowly approaches 6 pm (Fig. 23), and the skeleton clock (Fig. 24) in *Nosferatu* which twice strikes midnight in the castle of Count Orlok creates unease in Hutter and signals the anticipation of the two subsequent attacks. The clock in Johannes' former bedroom (Fig. 25) in *Der brennende Acker*, which at one point shows the emergence of the mechanical cuckoo as the hour is struck, symbolises the values of the country rather than the city, and through it, the estranged Johannes is linked with his brother Peter who keeps a small caged bird.

The most common source of illumination used by Murnau was natural sunlight for indoor scenes as well as outdoor. Interior settings were invariably lit using natural diffused sunlight, and his characters in interior scenes are frequently positioned near windows. Other natural sources of light, such as fireplaces, are used by Murnau to obtain chiaroscuro in interior scenes; the pro-filmic event was often shot with low-key lighting with an motivated source of illumination such as a fire in the fireplace, a single lantern, or a lighted candle to emit a warm glow. It is Murnau's use of lighting which is so strikingly effective in enhancing not only plastic qualities but emotional moods which are often introspective. Although his use of shadows in *Nosferatu* is well known, Murnau in general avoided such obvious lighting techniques. Silhouette back-lighting can, however, be seen in a number of early films and serves to mystify the vampire-controlled ship in *Nosferatu*, and when this device is present in front of windows in both *Phantom* and *Der brennende Acker* as Johannes stands in front of the library window, subjective moments of introspection are successfully rendered.

Quite noteworthy is Murnau's often dynamic use of depth staging, as in *Schloß Vogelöd* as the women run towards the children under tree (and the camera) and *Nosferatu* as Hutter strides from the castle towards the turret. At times Murnau alternates depth staging with shallow depth, such as in Börne's office in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. Although staging in both this film and *Schloß Vogelöd* is primarily

perpendicular, a sense of dynamism is created through the contrast of perpendicular staging with camera set-ups which privilege frame compositions along a diagonal axis. It is first with *Nosferatu* that an increasing display of regular diagonal staging is present, with this film including two different examples of elaborate 'mirrored-image' staging along diagonal lines. This interest in staging in depth is also consistent with Murnau's marked preference for the long shot rather than close-up.

Even in Murnau's early films a sense of stylistic variation and experimentation with regards to cinematographic choices is evident, for example, in his use of dissolves and superimposition. Although the prevalence of symmetry is visible in the films of both Murnau and Fritz Lang, the invariable preference for deep focus in Murnau's films distinguishes them from Lang's use of shallow focus. At this time, both shared a propensity for the static camera, with Murnau's heralded use of mobile framing not evident until *Der letzte Mann*. The most prominently discussed instances of intrusion into the frame are the startling appearances of the boats in *Nosferatu* and *Tabu.* There are in addition several notable examples from *Der Gang in die Nacht* and *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* in which hands intrude into the frame; the function of this device serves to heighten the seductive presence of Lily's hand as it offers sugar for Börne's cup of tea, and increases tension as the hand stealthily reaches to steal the letter from the napping aristocrat in *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs*.

Murnau's marked preference for the long take is often mentioned in the literature and especially in his more mature work there are numerous examples of his inventive use of space in the long take, the meeting in the celebrated marsh sequence in *Sunrise* being perhaps the most well-known example. This inclination for longer than average shot lengths combined with deep-focus photography is present in his early films, with his use of the shot as an intact unit resulting in less reliance on editing. Relatively little reverse-angle cutting or even eyeline matching can be found, with spatial integrity remaining intact through

panning and staging in depth. Although early examples of matches on action can be found as with three examples involving Hutter in *Nosferatu*, one successfully rendered and the other two less so, Murnau's seeming desire to use editing to connect shots which are independent is quite evident in his early films, with slow cutting contributing particularly to a prevalent sense of solemnity and contemplation.

3.2 Thematic Motifs and Narrative Form

Considered by all to be a highly developed technological advance in the 1890s, it is surprising how quickly the cinema became established as an idle form of entertainment primarily for the working classes. The medium's inherent potential as a means for artistic endeavour was, however, recognised very early by a number of early pioneers; by basing films from the beginning on established literary classics, it was thought that the cultural status of film would be secure. It is said that during the first five years of moving pictures, five different versions of Goethe's *Faust* had been filmed, although these films were rarely over five minutes long; Méliès first Faust film in 1897 was a merely two minutes in length.[51] Sweden took up this cultural initiative in 1911 with the activities of the Orientaliska Teatern to create short films based on August Strindberg's plays *Fadern* and *Fröken Julie*. Germany also sought to legitimise the status of film with the *Autorenfilm* with the thought that films based on established theatrical plays and works of literature would give the cinema more prestige. Strindberg was again chosen, with *Kameraden* not considered as successful as the two later Asta Nielsen vehicles, Lubitsch's *Rausch* (1919) and *Fräulein Julie* from 1922 which is considered one of Nielsen's finest interpretations. Adaptations of Henrik Ibsen's plays were considered naturally suitable in order to raise the cinema's intellectual and cultural reputation. After Olga Tschechowa's first film-acting experience in Murnau's *Schloß Vogelöd*, this young actress, the niece of Anton Chekov, was chosen as

Ibsen's Nora in the film directed by Berthold Viertel in 1923. Asta Nielsen portrayed Hedda Gabler in 1925, and the following year Lupu Pick filmed Ibsen's *The Wild Duck* as *Haus der Lüge* (1925) with the role of Hedwig portrayed by the Swedish actress Mary Johnson, who had moved to Germany after appearing primarily in Georg af Klercker's films. Even Max Reinhardt experimented with the medium of film and directed the two films *Eine venezianische Nacht* and *Die Insel der Seligen* in 1913. Eight of the works of Selma Lagerlöf, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1909, were produced in Sweden between 1917 and 1924. Sjöström adapted Ibsen's poem *Terje Vigen*, retaining Ibsen's Norwegian text for the intertitles and the Swedish cinema adapted works by five other Nobel prize winners during these years.

F.W. Murnau's last two German films *Tartüff* and *Faust* were, of course, based on the esteemed works of Molière and Goethe respectively. These were not isolated cases of prestigious sources; his two films *Phantom* and *Die Austreibung* which followed *Der brennende Acker* were adapted by Thea von Harbou from the novel by Gerhart Hauptmann and the play by Carl Hauptmann respectively. Although the sources for his early films are generally considered to be of more dubious quality, his early non-extant film *Der Januskopf* from 1920 was adapted by Hans Janowitz from *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* by Robert Louis Stevenson. Its themes of fantasy, the supernatural, and Gothic horror are attributed to German artistic films of the 1910s and early 1920s in general and are loosely grouped as film expressionism. It is quite clearly the case that it is these thematic ties which are partially the basis for Murnau being mistakenly aligned with the Expressionist movement. If he is, however, seen to be an exception from the other directors who fall under the Expressionist umbrella, how strong are his purported affinities with what would seem to be Expressionism's antithesis, the naturalistic qualities of Swedish cinema of the 1910s?

Distinguishing traits in Swedish film are generally accepted as being the pervasive use of landscape, the natural, unaffected style of

acting, the material drawn from literature, and technological expertise and photographic excellence. Attributes such as lyricism, sincerity, and authenticity in the films from Sweden were celebrated quite uniformly in the German press. The Swedish rural peasant dramas were an important aspect in defining a national imagine in Sweden with an emphasis on tradition and folkloric customs. The Swedish peasant films take place in a world seemingly untouched by any hint of urban life. The farmers rely on each other, forming close-knit peasant communities. Sjöström in particular chooses to represent nature as pure and a reflection of harmony and conflict and he displays a certain penchant for themes concerning farmers and their community.

Within the confines of these surroundings, it is indeed true that the Swedish films display evidence of sombre themes, often with a distinct sense of inescapable doom. This fatalism is also present in Murnau's *Der Gang in die Nacht* and *Nosferatu* in their progression of desire, destruction, and death. The German *Kammerspiel* drama's simple stories of petit-bourgeois life, of which Murnau's *Der letzte Mann* typifies the genre, deal with irrational, disturbing occurrences which result in tragedy, and *Schloß Vogelöd* and even *Der Gang in die Nacht* could loosely be considered *Kammerspiel* films, with the latter displaying more melodramatic elements. The narratives demonstrate non-reliance on intertitles or even their exclusion as well as static spatial and temporal congruence, featuring a limited number of settings during a short period of diegetic time. The genre's narratives here are much more condensed and succinct than the involved portrayals, also slowly paced but with expanded temporal and spatial articulation, which proliferate in the Swedish films under consideration.

Patrick Vonderau's research with regard to German-Swedish film relations has revealed insights into reception history.[52] His deductions are based on differences in storyline and how the German press perceived the similarities and the manner in which their arguments functioned. Vonderau offers an interpretation of contemporary criticism

and reception in Germany and the context in which the journalistic debate took place in the early 1920s in Germany, with a discussion of national aesthetic and cultural contexts; his research differs from the investigation undertaken here in that cultural and nationalistic contexts in this study are centred on stylistic and formal analyses through an extensive empirical examination of the filmic texts. Vonderau discusses the implications of what the term 'Schwedenfilm' came to signify in the German press, a certain stereotyping of national character and national image in the simple peasant culture, pure and unspoiled in contrast to the decadence of Berlin culture. Swedish films were seen to be realistic rather than artificial, in a sense an expression of a lost natural culture. Both popular German films during these years and those of artistic intentions were for the most part either set in the large city or town, and were usually quite stylised. Those German films which *were* set in the countryside were primarily light comedies and operetta-based films, with the natural elements in the background as an attractive and convenient backdrop. In general, very few German films, either dramatic or comic, depict stories dealing exclusively with the humble, everyday lives of simple peasant characters.

Not only are the themes of the peasant films concerning farmers and their community of prevailing interest, but also the dichotomy of rural versus urban settings. Unspoilt and uninhabited wilderness is juxtaposed with the inhuman face of the city. *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* depicts the stark contrast for the protagonist between life with his wife and child alone with the unspoilt wilderness environment and the unhappiness caused at the hands of the intruding villagers. This retreat to isolation is also present in *Der Gang in die Nacht* with Börne and Lily secluding themselves on the island far from the city, but nevertheless intruded upon by the arrival of the Painter, resulting in tragedy for all involved.

In general, the rural villages and small towns denote stability, rather than upheaval. The conflict of values between the country and

the city at the heart of both Murnau's later films *Sunrise* and *City Girl* emphasise the virtues of permanence and continuity found in the country and the evil of the city. This theme is also found in the idyllic island settings in *Tabu* and *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* which are threatened by the exploitation and corruption from outside. This contrast is reversed, however, in the earlier *Nosferatu*, in which the countryside contains the source of evil which infects the city. Rather than being a comforting environment, the castle keeps Hutter isolated from society and he is forced to struggle alone. The elements of danger expressed in both the Expressionist and street films in Germany are often motivated by the actions of a 'dangerous' woman who exploits men's desires, a theme not prevalent in the Swedish cinema nor in Murnau's films prior to *Sunrise*. In films such as *Der brennende Acker* the dangers of urban life and its attractions are considered in more general terms, specifically as the promises and hazards of industrialisation and technological advances. In regards to *Sunrise*, Patrick Vonderau has found the depiction of the City to be at odds with the accepted view of Murnau's sympathetic approach towards the peasant couple. Vonderau argues that the city is the setting of the married couple's most joyous moments together and the bustling environment where they rekindle their love. That the narrative follows this line is indeed true, however, it can also be argued that the wife's changed attitude only comes about through her husband's spontaneous reaction to rescue her from the threatening danger of the heavy traffic so alien to her quiet life on the farm. The dangers of the city, embodied in the lecherous man's behaviour towards the country wife in the salon provide further opportunities for the husband to shelter and protect his wife from danger.

In contrast, numerous films by Stiller such as *Kärlek och journalistik*, the two *Thomas Graal* films, and *Erotikon* show a more urbane view of the city as a centre of sophistication and refined taste. These perceptive, erotic comedies in contemporary settings do not

correspond with the description of the city as immoral and decadent, and although much of the humour is relayed through clever banter presented in dialogue intertitles, these were extremely successful exports. Bo Florin finds Stiller's *Erotikon* to be a vivid exception in Sweden which promotes the stylishness and sophistication of urbanity, with Hedqvist's film based on Lagerlöf's *Dunungen* showing a scepticism towards urban codes.[53] This attitude of mistrust and apprehension to urban references and modernity in general is certainly more closely representative of Sjöström's films and surprisingly even quite a few of Stiller's films, such as *Sången om den eldröda blomman* (1919) and *Johan* (1920), present a sympathetic portrayal of the problems and concerns of country dwellers.

Far fewer German films dealing with rural inhabitants can be found, with Alfred Halm's *Rose Bernd* from 1919 starring Emil Jannings with Henny Porten in the title role and Arthur von Gerlach's *Zur Chronik von Grieshuus* (1924/25) being amongst the more significant known examples. One might well include Murnau's so-called 'series' of peasant films, generally considered to include *Marizza, genannt die Schmugglermadonna*, *Der brennende Acker*, *Die Austreibung*, and *Sunrise*. Certainly *Der brennende Acker* and in particular the non-extant *Die Austreibung* are examples of Murnau's closest attempts at portraying the dilemmas faced by simple country folk. Murnau's final film for Fox in 1929 was *City Girl*, and was also known by the alternative title *Our Daily Bread* preferred by Murnau; in this story of an urban waitress who marries and moves to the country as the wife of a prominent farmer's son, the change of emphasis suggested by the two titles clearly underscores the same symbolic values of home and family held in a loaf of bread which Murnau emphasises in Peter's chastisement of the ambitious, wayward Johannes in *Der brennende Acker* that the bread is sacred, holy thing.

The Swedish Hasselblad films of Georg af Klercker, which were much more limited in distribution than those of Sjöström and Stiller,

dealt with upper-middle-class country estates and urban intrigues of all classes, but very rarely took place in rural farms and other peasant settings. The primarily urban films centred on many stories set in Gothenburg, many dealing with the issues facing large, inhomogeneous groups of people, such as class issues, prostitution, crime, and deception. It is with the prevalence of this subject matter, although not stylistically, that Klercker's films perhaps have more in common with the themes of corruption, crime, and betrayal found in German films of the early 1920s. Klercker retains a lighter tone, however, with neither the profound tragedy inherent in the German street film nor the theme of the petit-bourgeois male in search of the promise of danger to relieve the monotonous routine of his drab existence. The urbanity in Fritz Lang's films, such as the Dr. Mabuse films in particular, is centred on more graphic and even cynical visions of fate and power. In contrast to Murnau, one senses with Lang a greater sense of socio-political engagement and a certain suspicion with regards to bureaucracy and authority, with characters actively engaged in pursuing and achieving their goals.

A case might also be made for the dichotomy of urban and rural codes as regards active and passive causal patterning. As German films displayed urban and historical/aristocratic themes to a much greater extent than those in Sweden, there likewise appears to be a larger number of active, goal-driven protagonists, as with the husband in Karl Grune's *Die Straße* who balks at the confinement he feels from his dutiful wife, and actively chooses to explore the dangerous city streets. Sjöström's peasant adaptations of Selma Lagerlöf demonstrate the many submissive characters whose choices are defined by restraint, temperance, and humility. The narrative causality found in many of the Swedish films is, in fact, that of impersonal causal orders in which constraints of community, family, religion, and the natural world are placed on the protagonists which define their choices. Dramatic situations in these films are created as a result of the characters'

motivations being influenced by causal patterning such as weather and landscape in addition to those of their family and local community. Issues which come to bear in these films address the manner in which human emotion can be artistically reflected in both natural scenery and altered landscape and, in turn, how nature affects the various characters' judgment, resolve, behaviour, and fate. The pre-determination of psychological causality in a number of these films is displayed as characters struggle against the preordained causal system in which they are trapped. As in Sjöström's *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru*, these unfortunate souls often choose to hide themselves, flee, or even die, a fate chosen by Helga in *Der brennende Acker* and the Empusa's first mate in *Nosferatu*. Although impersonal causality occurs much less often in German films, including those by Murnau, instances can be found in the conventions of social behaviour which contribute to Helene's passivity in *Der Gang in die Nacht* as well as Helga's surrender to her fate in *Der brennende Acker*. This passivity is also well illustrated by Henny Porten's portrayal of the servant girl in Jessner and Leni's *Hintertreppe* (1921), with her death through suicide being her sole release from unbearable misery.

Further examples of the causal role of nature occur in the rainy weather in *Der Gang in die Nacht* which provides the excuse for Lily's invitation to tea, making her flirtation less personal while at the same time relieving any guilt Börne may feel about accepting her offer. Rain in *Schloß Vogelöd* keeps the hunting party inside to spend a quiet day, with the exception of Count Oetsch who states his preference for shooting in the rain. Examples of Murnau's affinity with nature are most often drawn from *Nosferatu*, but interestingly nature does not have power over the characters and therefore does not play a role in deciding narrative actions in that Hutter is not dissuaded by nightfall from travelling alone. The vampire is not hindered by water in his desire to reach Ellen, although the river, sea, and small canal initially create barriers which the vampire must successfully overcome. The recurring animal motifs

which include the kitten, rats, spiders, hooded horses, werewolf, polyp, and Venus fly-trap do not influence the course of events in *Nosferatu* but rather function as reflections of characters' traits and behaviour.

In general, however, the motivations of Murnau's characters are generally spurred by their own personal desires, choices, and personality traits. They often defy social conventions in the course of pursuing their own desires and their attempts to satisfy these goals. Examples of psychological causality are found in *Der Gang in die Nacht* in which Lily's presence continually functions to propel the narrative. The baroness in *Schloß Vogelöd* is defiant in her desire to withhold knowledge of the circumstances of her first husband's murder. Hutter ignores Ellen's pleas and does not heed the warnings at the inn, and likewise Ellen decides to submit to the vampire without telling her husband of her decision. Her dialogue intertitle 'I must go to him. He is coming!' is intentionally ambiguous, as is the needlework in which she stitches 'Ich liebe Dich'. In a similar manner, Johannes, Helga, and Gerda in *Der brennende Acker* act according to their own desires. The narrative of Murnau's film is propelled by the interplay of passive and active characters, with Johannes as the overwhelming driving force and Gerda his greedy counterpart. Maria and Lellewel are passive to a fault with Peter and Helga decisive in their joint financial venture and subsequently responsible for deciding their future destinies. Throughout the film, Lellewel has extremely restricted knowledge of story events, which is seen to come about through his extreme passivity, a personality trait which eventually results in the loss of the viewer's sympathy.

Narrative replacement is a key element in stories involving love triangles such as Hedqvist's *Dunungen*, and is found in comedies such as *Die Bergkatze* and the dramas *Hintertreppe* and *Die Straße*. Rather less common are the developments in *Der Gang in die Nacht* in that two different love triangles occur and intertwine. The first involves social class and the subsequent love triangle is defined by the scientist

confronted by the love of the two artists. The arrival of the Painter and Börne in the small rowboat draws one of the most sharply laid visual parallels. As mentioned above, Ellen's behaviour in *Nosferatu* which appears as sleepwalking occurs on two occasions, with her second trance giving rise to the ambiguous declaration to go to 'him', followed later by the unclear identity of the intended recipient of the message in her needlework. Narrative structures of replacement in *Der brennende Acker* are numerous, as Johannes takes the Count's place in Helga's heart even prior to the old man's death, and with their marriage, Helga has replaced Maria as his intended partner.

Static parallel constructions serve to emphasise similarities and contrasts, the latter often taking the form of conflicts of social class, such as those which lie at the core of Brunius's *Synnöve Solbakken*, adapted from Bjørnson's novel. Here the static parallel construction of the two distinct farms literally emphasises the distinction between the piety and greater wealth of the Solbakken household and the coarser, less-refined Granliden family, a division softened by the friendship of Synnöve and Ingrid (Fig. 26) and Synnöve's affection for Thorbjörn. Opposition and variance are also addressed in, for example, the settings of the farm and the villa in *Der brennende Acker*, in which farmers and aristocracy, and corresponding stability versus impulse are opposed. This contrast is personified in the two brothers Peter and Johannes who equally defend their different views of the world. During the joint sales of the valuable Teufelsacker, the similarities are further enhanced by each brother's desire to hinder the purchasing intentions of the 'city businessmen'. A further deft parallel is the discovery of the fire which is made jointly by the housemaid Maria and the butler from the villa.

Narrative time which is subordinated to cause and effect is heightened, subsequently creating suspense. Long a well-known element in American films, this device is less common in German films and is present to an even lesser extent in Swedish cinema. Rather than using the 'deadline' structures and suspense-producing timing

constructions so common in Hollywood, Thomas Elsaesser posits that narrative progression in Weimar cinema is motivated through the gaze, both controlling the field of vision as in *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* and revealing the character's consciousness at being the object of the gaze, as in *Der letzte Mann.*[54] German *Kammerspiel* films such as *Hintertreppe* and *Scherben*, both from 1921, display concise stories which are confined to sharply constricted temporal and spatial borders, characteristics which could also apply to Murnau's *Schloß Vogelöd* which spans merely three days, with the anticipation of the arrival of Father Faramund quite secondary to the anxiety caused to Baroness Safferstätt by the presence of Count Oetsch. In contrast, narrative time becomes a plot pattern in *Nosferatu* in that Hutter realises immediately when Nosferatu leaves that Ellen is in danger and when the 'race' ensues, Hutter makes every effort to get to her before his counterpart. This same impatience is displayed in his rushed attitude at the inn when he hurries the innkeeper to serve his dinner in his haste to meet the Count. This in turn functions as a foreshadowing of his hasty return to protect Ellen. Murnau also successfully uses the element of temporal tension in his earlier *Der Gang in die Nacht* with the creation of anxiety as the focal point of 6.00 pm draws nearer. Dramatic tension is created through the increasing violence of the storm as Lily's dance becomes more and more frenetic. This is then intercut with repeated shots of the advancing clock which signals the approaching hour of the patient's unbandaging. Duration of time in this film, in particular, evidences concentrated scenes with the passage of long periods of time indicated with ellipses.

Narrative ellipses are routinely found throughout both German and Swedish cinema and can be rendered in various ways. A common method is that employed in *Der brennende Acker* in which visually excluded information is provided through the use of one expository intertitle each at the beginning of the fourth and fifth acts which explain a new situation brought about with the passage of time. The death of

the king in Svend Gade's *Hamlet* (1920) is effectively revealed using ellipsis. A parallel structure showing the plotting and murderer's approach is cross-cut with Hamlet's classroom antics at university; the viewer is then startled to learn of the king's murder through a delivered message to Hamlet, with a visual resolution to the viewer's anticipation being denied. The incident which leads to the tragic circumstances in Pick's *Scherben* is also left to the viewer's imagination through restricted knowledge of the girl's sexual encounter, which is eventually deftly portrayed through the daughter's humiliated expression without being depicted. Ellipses occurring in *Der Gang in die Nacht* appear in various ways; a quite effective method of relaying the passage of time Börne spends in Lily's hotel room is rendered with cuts to trivial activities such as busy traffic, hotel arrivals, and even Börne's butler tidying up the desk. Upon their attachment being formed, the one shot of the speeding passenger train follows a standard convention which both ellipses time and implies relocation.

The use of flashbacks, which intrinsically have the advantage of presenting cause and effect at the best appropriate point in the plot, were very common in Swedish film, and perhaps the most sophisticated example is found in Sjöström's *Körkarlen* (1920) which manipulated story time to the extent of using a flashback and flashforward within a flashback. The alcoholic and abusive David Holm living in the slum is depicted in the flashback as a loving husband and caring father and this happier past is removed from his current life in the slum in its luminous shots outdoors showing the young family gardening, having a picnic, and playing in the lake, all on a gloriously sunny day. This contrast of the past as sunnier and more blissful is also found in the flashback in *Schloß Vogelöd* as the baroness recalls her life with her first husband, the flashback being shot in bright sunshine, setting it apart stylistically from the film's quite claustrophobic studio sets through the inclusion of the authentic manor house setting and natural lighting. Flashbacks are found less often in German cinema with directors showing a distinct

preference for frame stories, which are discussed below. Although Murnau used the device of frame stories on numerous occasions, he incorporated conventional flashbacks as found in *Schloß Vogelöd* in several of his early films. The standard use of the flashback, for example, appears in *Der brennende Acker* as it illustrates the story of the Teufelsacker while it is being related by the older maid. Sjöström's *Karin Ingmarsdotter* (1920) is unique in that it contains a flashback drawn directly from his earlier film *Ingmarssönerna*; this is a very early example of a flashback device which is used quite commonly today in this age of sequels. Many of Sjöström's films, including *Vem dömer?*, consistently demonstrate his creativity regarding narrative structures and his willingness to include complex temporal patterns, such as the above-mentioned flashback in *Körkarlen* containing a flashback and flashforward. Although flashforwards are absent from Murnau's films, foreshadowing can be found in *Der brennende Acker* in the Alte Rog's dying comment that Johannes and Maria belong together and the curse of the fated Teufelsacker being fulfilled.

Although flashbacks are a rather frequent device in Swedish cinema, frame stories are not common, with Stiller's *Vingarne* (1916) being a rare example which was not considered successful. The film's numerous shifts between the fictional story and the equally fictional 'private' lives of the actors portraying the characters in the story was quite possibly too sophisticated for the average audience in the 1910s. Sjöström's *Dödskyssen*, which has been recently reconstructed but remains incomplete, was filmed immediately prior to *Vingarne* at the same Svenska Bio studio at Lidingö. The death of Dr Monro is followed by the implementation of detached sequences which show different witnesses's accounts, though are not as independent as the embedded narratives described below. The creative and experimental nature of *Vingarne* and *Dödskyssen* raises the question of possible collaboration between Sjöström and Stiller on these films, which are clearly remarkable in their daring and innovative methods of narrative

development. Sjöström's *Ingmarssönerna* is perhaps the most prominent Swedish example of a frame story, with Ingmar's problems which he relates to his forefathers in heaven composing the primary story, but this device was seldom chosen by Swedish directors. Elsaesser refers, however, to Weimar film as borrowing such indirect modes of narration as frame stories and flashbacks from Swedish and Danish cinema of the 1910s.[55] Sjöström's *Klostret i Sendomir* (1920) is an uncommon example of a Swedish frame story as solidly conventional as those in Germany, where frame stories were certainly quite prevalent.

Generally, the reliability of the story being related within the frame story is not in question, with the viewer's discovery at the end of Wiene's *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* that the story has been told by the inmate of a mental asylum being a famous exception. The device of the unreliable narrator is reversed in *Nosferatu* in which the device of the frame story is presented in the form of numerous diary entries which relate the historical event graphically rather than mimetically. It is here at the outset that the viewer of *Nosferatu* learns of the plague of 1838 in the chronicle insert which begins the film, with this historically accurate information within the diegesis being withheld from the film's characters other than the ship's captain until his log is read after his death. Murnau's use of framing devices also includes *Phantom* and *Tartüff*, with the latter being unique in that Molière's play functions as a fable with unrelated characters to illustrate a young man's fears of extortion of his grandfather by a devious housekeeper. The more conventional use described above in *Klostret i Sendomir* is seen in *Phantom*, employing a frame story in which the protagonist reluctantly relates painful events of his past to his betrothed before starting a new life together. This recognised narrative device is also found in Dupont's *Varieté* as a prisoner recalls the detailed circumstances of his crime to the judge and after this primary story has unfolded, the viewer witnesses the prisoner's release from prison. Films such as Karl Grune's *Die Straße* do not technically use a frame story, although the opening and closing

scenes inside the couple's house function in the same manner, with the husband's exploration of the city's dangerous underworld comprising the primary story.

Numerous German artistic films in the early 1920s display the marked use of frame stories with embedded narratives. This is a narrative device which has been used but rarely in the cinema, with its most probable inspiration being Griffith's landmark 1916 film *Intolerance*. In Lang's *Der müde Tod* (1921), for example, the frame story of a woman's three opportunities to save her threatened lover frames three quite involved embedded narratives set in the exotic locales of the Arabian Nights, Renaissance Venice, and ancient China in which a magician provides the motivation for Lang's fanciful use of camera effects. This use of three unique and exotic narratives is later displayed in Leni's *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett* (1924) which features episodes of Harun al Raschid, Ivan the Terrible, and Jack the Ripper. Preceding both Lang's and Leni's much more well-known and documented works, however, was Murnau's second film, the non-extant *Satanas* (1919/20), with its three episodic stories of Pharoah Amenhotep, Lucrezia Borgia, and Ivan the Terrible. As regards frame stories, therefore, Murnau's use of this device in *Satanas*, *Phantom*, and *Tartüff* is much more in keeping with German practices in the early 1920s than those in Sweden. Frame stories and certainly embedded narratives are scarce in Swedish films, with Stiller's inclusion in *Erotikon* of the play which comments wryly on the love entanglements of certain members of the audience being a subtle, elegant, and humorous variant.

Diegetic inserts which contain text have long been an effective method of conveying narrative information. The short German comedy film *Frau Blechnudel will Kinoschauspielerin werden* (1915) directed by the Danish director Viggo Larsen uses diegetic inserts of various letters and a telegram to set up the primary situation, in this case an audition, with the remainder of the film broadly acted with the near absence of intertitles. Letters play a pivotal role in Klercker's *I minnenas band* and

Kärleken segrar, in Lubitsch's *Die Bergkatze*, and in Gade's *Hamlet*. Diegetic inserts are regularly used in Murnau's films to convey narrative information, and examples are found in excerpts from books, various documents, newspapers, letters, and even needlework (Fig. 27) in *Nosferatu*. This film makes use of not one narrative authority but rather many changes in narrative viewpoint, supplied by such items as diary entries, an old book, a ship's log, a newspaper article, and a love letter. Important subjective insights into particular characters in this film are conveyed to the viewer using printed or written sources rather than primary reliance on dialogue intertitles. Story information revealed through dialogue intertitles can also result from reiterating information gathered from these sources, as with the dead captain's log through which characters first become aware of the threat of plague. The *Book of Vampires* as a narrative authority gains credibility as a reliable source with each presented insert from its pages. Likewise, the book which guides Rabbi Löw in his quest to bring life to the Golem in Wegener and Boese's film is presented in several inserts.

Helene's diary entries in *Der Gang in die Nacht* are of great importance in understanding her attachment to Börne and later her number of seemingly passive decisions. Her re-reading of the precious newspaper cutting which glorifies Börne as a great healer (Fig. 28) provides narrative irony immediately following the prior scene of Börne's explosive outrage which results in his blackmailing Lily to commit suicide. Börne re-reads a particular letter on three separate occasions with the same insert being shown every time; after the narrative information about Helene's worsening condition has been understood, the second and third times it is intercut function to register Börne's increasing agitation and guilt concerning her fate. Inserts in *Der brennende Acker* are all upper-class references and include the chronicle, written notes (including the bill of sale between Helga and Peter), and the will. Non-diegetic inserts are absent from both Murnau's early films and those of the German and Swedish silent cinema.

Swedish and German films contain numerous intertitles which appear frequently, with expository intertitles being more usual in Swedish films and commonly used in order to comment on events yet to come, whereas both expository and dialogue intertitles were prevalent in German film of the early 1920s. Interestingly, unlike Swedish films the German cinema generally displays a preference for dialogue titles used quite conventionally, with films scripted by Thea von Harbou receiving a perhaps unfounded reputation for pompous long-windedness and sentimentality, criticism no doubt due to the influence of Eisner.[56] With the exception of Carl Mayer, she was, nonetheless, quite likely the most important screenwriter during the Weimar era, responsible wholly or in part for the scripts for Lang's *Der müde Tod*, *Dr. Mabuse*, *der Spieler*, the two *Nibelungen* films, *Metropolis*, *Spione*, and Joe May's *Das indische Grabmal* (co-scripted with Lang), as well as Murnau's *Phantom*, *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs*, and the non-extant *Die Austreibung*. Except for two expository titles, it is dialogue intertitles which dominate in *Der brennende Acker* (also co-scripted by Harbou) providing primarily narrative information; at times they also serve to convey information which is quickly confirmed or reaffirmed visually in the following shot. An example of two intertitles from *Hamlet* which comment graphically on the narrative are the expository title 'Die Schlangen-Grube', the letters of which are composed of snakes, and Hamlet's dialogue title 'Diese Hitze!' with flames rising from the tops of the letters.

By the mid-1920s, expository intertitles were reserved primarily to make the viewer aware of temporal or spatial changes, with dialogue titles being clearly dominant. There are two unique Swedish examples of expository intertitle usage which do not seem to have a German equivalent, the first being the narrative form in *Sången om den eldröda blomman* which is determined by stanzas of verse which create the narrative structure of a ballad; these stanzas are freely adapted from the book of the same name by Johannes Linnankoski and divide the film into seven parts. The second example is an even more 'pure' form in

that, without the addition of supplementary intertitles, Victor Sjöström chose in *Terje Vigen* to retain the exact lines from Ibsen's poem (Fig. 29), which he left untranslated for a primarily Swedish audience in the original Norwegian. The complete or near absence of intertitles in the *Kammerspiel* dramas is a strongest example of a group of films using solely visual means to unfold the narrative. Pick's *Scherben* contains expository intertitles which are used to mark the passage of time as, for example, the morning of the fifth day; the film's avoidance of dialogue intertitles until the end is made possible by the superlative acting of the four principles, with the surprising appearance of the only dialogue intertitle 'Ich bin ein Mörder' very effective indeed. Although Murnau's only specific example of the attempt to eliminate intertitles was in *Der letzte Mann*, his 1927 article 'The Ideal Picture Needs No Titles' mentioned above in Section 3.1.1 makes clear his position, his philosophy if not practice of filmmaking being one in which titles are altogether superfluous.

Characters' recognition of the non-diegetic world of the viewer is not common during this period, although direct address does occur at the conclusion of three Swedish films as a form of stylistic punctuation with a generally humorous function: Brunius's *Gyurkovicsarna* from 1920, Sjöström's *Hans Nåds testament*, and Sjöström's *Karin Ingmarsdotter* in which Lill-Ingmar makes an amusing aside to the camera (Fig. 30). Although use of this Brechtian device is curiously even less apparent in German cinema, recognition of the spectator occurs in three of Murnau's extant films. *Schloß Vogelöd* begins by introducing the viewer to the various guests in the drawing room, with the host walking towards the camera in such a warm manner as to invite the audience to join them (Fig. 31). The frame story of *Tartüff* commences with the grandson taking the audience into his confidence, a device common in Shakespeare's plays, through direct eye contact with the camera and the delivery of dialogue intertitles which speak directly to the viewer. This approach is further strengthened by both the fact of his thespian

profession and his decision to expose hypocrisy through the presentation of the 'play' which becomes the primary story. Finally, the earlier *Der Gang in die Nacht* contains two instances of a subtle form of direct address which functions to dispel any doubt the viewer may have as to Lily's intentions and identity, first when her feigned injury is being examined and later when disguised as the peasant woman seeking medical help. As it denotes a character's recognition of the spectator, direct address might also be seen as a form of subjective behaviour.

Both German and Swedish film display notable use of subjectivity in exploring characters' mental states, and this mental subjectivity in its exploration of character's thoughts, dreams, or memories of the past is shared in the films of Murnau. None, however, approaches the complexity and imagery of repressed desire through dreams and trances portrayed in Pabst's 1926 film *Geheimnisse einer Seele*, although he is perhaps more heavily aligned with a preference for social realism which is rendered with technical excellence. Although the German and the Swedish cinemas both privilege the long take with less recourse to cutting which would seemingly facilitate greater character subjectivity, they additionally make use of varied devices which address introspection and perceptual subjectivity as to a character's sightlines and point of view, an issue at the heart of *Der Gang in die Nacht*.

3.3 Mise en scène

3.3.1 Settings and props

The discussion of settings and props in this section includes landscapes and existing architectural structures, constructed interior and exterior studio set designs, and significant props and inanimate objects. Issues and considerations which involve the various aspects of filmed landscape, weather, and other natural elements are also presented.

3.3.1.1 Representation and Function of Landscape and Existing Settings

In a film historical analysis of the aesthetic representation of nature, it is not only the visual pleasure of the landscape which is of primary concern, but the function of the natural world as it is presented in the narrative. The use of natural elements has long been a dramatic device used to various ends in literature, painting, and other arts. The depiction of nature in film has taken numerous forms in documentary films and in feature films, the form chosen by Murnau and the selected German and Swedish directors. The representation and function of nature and landscape can serve as tools with which to place these directors and Murnau's approaches to nature, which are sometimes similar and sometimes different, into a historical context. The methods by which nature is represented in both Murnau's films and those of the selected directors vary from the filming of existing natural scenery to the manipulation of natural substances to achieve the desired realistic or expressive effects. Cultivated land and constructed reproductions of nature also appear.

Interest in this investigation lies in showing the historical use of landscape in the works of these directors within the context of the two film industries of Sweden and Germany. Although location shooting was often used in both countries for less expensive endeavours, as mentioned above, markedly dissimilar practices occurred regarding films with artistic aspirations, with filming on location being the usual practice in Sweden while in Germany it was rarely the case. Location shooting in Sweden, Germany, and eastern European countries used as settings by German film companies resulted in very similar types of landscape, such as country estates surrounded by wooded groves, lakes, rivers, and mountain ranges. Remote, sometimes isolated castles and estates which are self-contained are commonplace in these films, as for example the seaside house in *Der Gang in die Nacht* and the imposing castles, manor houses, and country estates in *Schloß Vogelöd*,

Nosferatu, and *Der brennende Acker*. Stone walls and castle settings which had been shot on location, as in Paul Leni's *Dornröschen* (Fig. 32) from 1917, were quite common backgrounds to contemporary German viewers; these imposing settings would be replaced to a great extent by constructed studio sets within merely a few years.

First and foremost amongst the affinities mentioned in regards to Murnau and the Swedish cinema is the use of landscape and natural settings. The use of outdoor locations is considered a hallmark of the Scandinavian silent cinema, and the tremendous contributions of cinematographer Julius Jaenzon are primarily responsible for this distinction. Strikingly beautiful landscape settings were used to narrative advantage (Fig. 33) by Sjöström who was able to benefit from the many opportunities for location shooting for the purpose of expressing his personal affinities with the natural surroundings. It is his films, as well as several notable films by Stiller and Brunius, which are largely responsible for the historical identification of rural romanticism in Swedish films (Fig. 34), and concurrently encouraged an already burgeoning national romanticism and appreciation of landscapes and scenery which were recognisable to the primarily Swedish audience.

Both Sweden and Germany had a standard practice of shooting on location throughout the 1910s. Although German filming was limited to its own soil during the war, the richly varied German landscape offered directors a diversity that easily substituted for foreign locations. The freedom to travel during the immediate post-war era, however, gave rise to an astounding number of films which, according to Oskar Kalbus, were shot on location around the world in primarily exotic locations such as Egypt, Africa, and Venice, as well as in Hungary, France, and Montenegro.[57] This practice continued well into the early 1920s with many comedies, farces, and detective stories filmed on location. German films with artistic aspirations, however, were by 1920 increasingly filmed predominantly in the studios, although not exclusively, with exceptions being found in films such as Dworsky's

Wilhelm Tell (Fig. 35) and E.A. Dupont's *Die Geier-Wally* from 1921 starring Henny Porten, with the well-known mountain drama being filmed on location near Garmisch-Partenkirchen.[58] Dupont's subsequent films, *Das alte Gesetz* (1923) and the well-known and influential *Varieté* (1925), were, however, created in the studio with little evidence of natural locations.

Lotte Eisner mentions repeatedly that Fritz Lang eschewed location shooting in favour of studio-built landscapes and she relates a letter written by Lang stating his recollection of Woltersdorf as being the only area where he filmed on location prior to his work in Hollywood.[59] Woltersdorf's proximity allowed Lang to make use of the hilly, wooded region on the eastern outskirts of Berlin to depict Japanese scenes in *Harakiri* (1919) and more interesting for the discussion involving Swedish film, *Das wandernde Bild* (1920) with its mountainous scenery and timber houses which, according to the *Film-Kurier* review mentioned by Eisner, also includes a peasant wedding at a mountain lake as well as a peasant dance. Along with his serial *Die Spinnen*, these few early films by Lang display his only use of natural landscape, with his preference for the control afforded by studios famously displayed in his *Nibelungen* films (Fig. 12) already apparent in his first film *Halbblut* from 1919, in which he relied on constructed studio scenery to simulate natural surroundings.

By 1919 Murnau had directed his first film *Der Knabe in Blau* partially on location, however, the eight largely non-extant films which followed were created completely in the studio in keeping with German practices, apart from the scenes shot on Sylt (Figs. 21, 22, 40, 78) for *Der Gang in die Nacht*; although precise shooting locations for *Sehnsucht* and *Der Bucklige und die Tänzerin* have yet to be confirmed, stills available from these non-extant films show no evidence of location shooting.[60] *Marizza, genannt die Schmugglermadonna* is set in the Balkan region, but was filmed in the Jofa-Atelier, Johannisthal. It appears likely that of Murnau's German output, ten films are entirely

studio products and seven contain partial evidence of outdoor scenery. Murnau's reputation as a landscape director must rest, therefore, on the five sequential films which make extensive use of exterior shooting at a time when films of artistic intention were overwhelmingly studio-bound: *Nosferatu*, *Der brennende Acker*, *Phantom*, *Die Austreibung*, and *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs*. His remaining films in Germany were again completely products of the studio, and it is curious given Murnau's reputed preference for outdoor shooting that the three films *Der letzte Mann*, *Tartüff*, and *Faust* are undoubtedly considered his finest German works.

According to Eisner, Murnau's non-extant *Der Januskopf* (1920) appeared decidedly dissimilar from German art films of the period in that the script contains quite a number of scenes which were intended for shooting in natural exteriors.[61] This script by Hans Janowitz, who collaborated with Carl Mayer in *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, was in the end filmed by Murnau in the Berlin studios Film-Ateliers am Zoo and Cserépy-Atelier, where he would film *Der Gang in die Nacht* shortly thereafter, complemented by the striking landscape shots of Sylt. It was, however, *Nosferatu. Eine Symphonie des Grauens* which first called public attention to Murnau's prevalent use of natural settings and existing architecture (Fig. 36). References continue to be repeated as to the frequent evidence in the films of the Swedish directors and Murnau of their strong affinity with landscape and their ability to poeticise this identification with nature. Affinities commonly attributed to Murnau and the Swedish directors are the similar use of landscape and scenery in its simplicity and expressiveness to depict human emotion, and the heightening of nature's importance to that of a character in the film.

Both German and Swedish directors privileged mise-en-scene concerns, and an examination of spatial relationships between human beings and nature is of particular interest in this research. Deep-space composition is dominant in Swedish films and chosen for both interior as well as exterior shots, where it is used to articulate spatial

relationships between man and nature, as in the separate locations of the two families in Brunius's *Synnöve Solbakken*. In *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* and *Karin Ingmarsdotter*, nature's role is often that of dwarfing human beings and diminishing man's importance while emphasising his vulnerability, a function found in numerous Swedish film which applies less to Murnau's films than to Fanck's *Bergfilme*.

The natural form of cliffs allows for innumerable functions, with the potential for risk of death being used to great advantage in Sjöström's films *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* and later *Karin Ingmarsdotter*. The first uses the cliff as a key element in the test of one man's moral strength when deciding whether to let his hanging competitor fall to his death by cutting the rope, and the same cliff is later the instrument of death for the young child who is thrown over the cliff by the mother in a desperate decision to avoid the child's inevitable capture by the angry mob. In *Karin Ingmarsdotter* the title character stands on the precipice fully cognisant of her decision to end her life and that of her unborn child. Such life-and-death situations involving cliffs are not present in Murnau's films, with the cliffs in *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* and *Der Gang in die Nacht* functioning as settings of appreciation and affection.

Metaphorical Use of Natural Elements

The discussion above which discusses nature as the setting in the general sense is contrasted here with the various elements and forces of nature which are used specifically, even blatantly, as a metaphor which calls attention to itself. Nature is used both as a counterpoint to man and as a metaphor for emotions, reflecting conflicts between the characters as well as within themselves. The dramatic and poetic qualities of nature are used to participate in the action as a narrative element which creates a decisive impact on the characters' fate.

It can be said that in contrast to the vast majority of German films, nature and natural scenery in Murnau's early films and those of

the Swedish cinema are not only represented realistically but at times artistically reflect characters' temperament. German exceptions do exist, however, as in *Die Geier-Wally* with correspondence between the devastating betrayal experienced by Wally and the wildness of the mountains which encompass her world (Fig. 37).[62] According to Eisner, it was quite clearly Murnau's intent to convey emotion and states of mind through the expressive depiction of landscape and other settings. She states that Murnau himself suggested in the script of *Faust* the superimposed travelling shot of peaks and valleys which signifies Gretchen's despair; her 'wild cry across the chaotic landscapes. Ranges of mountains split open to the left; behind them boiling waves.'[63] Again, this extensive presence of nature and natural forces which comments on specific character traits through heightened metaphorical meaning as opposed to merely strict adherence to the narrative is contrary to the standard usage of these elements in the majority of German films.

Elements of the natural world in a number of Murnau's films and those in Sweden are used to parallel narrative events, and of particular interest is the manner in which nature functions as a visualization of turmoil in the minds of characters and their internal emotions. A well-known early example from 1917 is Sjöström's *Terje Vigen* which interestingly was filmed twice in Germany, first as *Terje Vigen* for Deutsche Bioscop in 1911 and later in 1933 as *Das Meer ruft* for Deutsche Eidophon and directed by Hans Hinrich.[64] Harsh winds, waves, and storms are used in Sjöström's film to illustrate human characters' fears and anxiety (Fig. 38). In Klercker's *Fyrvaktarens dotter* (1918), a distressed Awa who has run away from her husband Frank is portrayed in a dramatically windy shot (Fig. 39) as she climbs the boulders near the sea with the strong wind whipping the trees and shrubs. Similarly rendered is the landscape in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, changing from calm and placid sea to violently blustery seascape as Börne's jealous rage is expressed in a mad fury. His enraged frenzy is clearly communicated as both he and the shrubs are blown about

together (Fig. 40) while at the same time he seemingly fights with the natural elements during his mental collapse. The natural world in *Nosferatu* is portrayed in the Carpathian mountains, thick fir and pine forests, as well as deciduous wooded glens. The supernatural subject matter of *Nosferatu* benefits from exterior shooting by incorporating with the narrative the windy images of the sky with clouds, violently blustery landscapes, and waves in tumult and crashing to shore. A similar premonition is represented by the violent storm in Pick's *Scherben* which shatters the glass in the window of the railway worker's house, a symbol of the upcoming tragedies which sever his family's unity.

Electrical storms in *Der Gang in die Nacht* and *Der brennende Acker* produce dramatic lighting effects achieved artificially which foreshadow personal and moral conflicts. Lightning in the former film is equated with Lily's growing fear followed by her trance-like delusional state, throwing open her bedrooms windows to embrace the ferocity of the storm. Internal tumult is often depicted most filmically under windy conditions, causing crashing waves and blowing trees to represent upheavals in human emotion. Alternately the wind can also represent the exhilaration of new love, as in the scenes of Lily and Börne embracing on the windy cliff and later of Lily and the Painter. The violent snowstorm in Murnau's non-extant *Die Austreibung* from 1923 functions similarly to the electrical storm in expressing the altercations amongst the peasant farmer, his beautiful young wife, and the young hunter, with the severe weather conditions a metaphor for the turmoil and agitation caused by her infidelity.

In Sjöström's early films *Havsgamar* from 1916 and especially *Terje Vigen* made the following year, the sea plays a vital role. The latter film depicts the sea as both Terje's source of livelihood, in that he is a sailor, and as an adversary. The sea is described as both friend and foe, as regards its economic and geographic importance as the basis of characters' lives, and Sjöström shows how the sea as protector and servant can change from one second to another into a threat and a

direct danger to their existence. Sjöström's *Eld ombord* (1923) was yet another drama set on a ship and his last film in Sweden before leaving for Hollywood; a marked difference in stylistic elements from the two films above is apparent in Sjöström's choice of unconvincing studio sets blended with limited location shooting which contribute to the diminished authority, and therefore effectiveness, of his portrayal of the sea. In the late 1910s and early 1920s, it was therefore Stiller even more than Sjöström who created well-crafted dramas in which water was foregrounded. In *Sången om den eldröda blomman* (1919) Olof declares his status as master over nature by 'conquering' the rapids standing on one of the many felled logs (Fig. 3), a exemplary scene by any standard. Rapids again figure prominently in Stiller's film *Johan* from 1921, with the river a symbol of the division in the wife's life and the body of water literally creates a barrier separating her two lives, one upstream with the husband (Fig. 41) and the other downstream with the drifting stranger. Landscape and water guide the fate of humans as the characters struggle with the environment; Stor-Ingmar's fight with the rapids in *Karin Ingmarsdotter* results in his death by a blow from a floating log.

There are very few German films during this period which use bodies of water to address specific narrative elements, with Dworsky's *Wilhelm Tell* being one of the few examples. Many of Murnau's most memorable images, however, are linked with water, which could very well be attributed to the chosen location shooting which facilitated the greater use of available seas and lakes. Examples include the parallelism of the arrivals of the blind artist and later at the same pier of the doctor in *Der Gang in die Nacht*; the sea serves to hinder intruders from the island retreat created by Börne and Lily, soon destroyed by the painter's arrival by boat, with the intrusion repeated with Börne's surprise arrival by boat which threatens the isolated lovers' bliss. His fit of jealous rage is reflected in the quickly changing weather conditions from the calm, placid sea to violently blustery seaside landscape. In

Nosferatu water functions as a potential hindrance or obstacle which the vampire repeatedly surmounts; the urgency with which the vampire-controlled ship cuts through the waves to reach its port contributes to the strong sense of foreboding as it smoothly glides into the harbour. In the town, water in the form of the narrow canal which runs between the vampire's new house and Ellen's continues to keep the vampire separated from Ellen, yet with a small rowboat he again effortlessly overcomes the deterrent. The young bathers diving in the sparkling water at the base of the cliff in the first act of Murnau's *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* is a rare scene of heightened naturalistic photography which occurs more prominently in the films of Georg af Klercker set in the archipelagos off the west coast of Sweden. The expanses of the pristine ocean in Murnau's *Tabu* and the lake in *Sunrise* at first appear inviting. Offering the promise of a relaxing day's outing, the water in the lake soon becomes a weapon of murder during the husband's cold-blooded attempt in the rowboat, and the lake later becomes an evil force with its own will when overturning the reunited couple's boat during the fierce storm, nearly costing the wife's life.

The iconography of nature is varied in these primarily dramatic films with sensitive cinematography. In general, the use of woods, streams, lakes, and fields imparts a sense of harmony, permanence, and tradition which is in keeping with national romanticism. Mountains and rushing rivers are common indicators which signify stability and movement respectively. The changing seasons of the year are signified with images such as blossoming trees and flowers which depict the springtime as fruitful and productive; in *Schloß Vogelöd* and *Phantom* these signal renewal and hope. Winter is seen as bleak and barren and life-depleting, as in the snow-covered landscape, bare trees, and frozen lake in *Der brennende Acker* which signify Helga's dying soul (Fig. 42). The vast and barren expanses also signal characters' dependency on one another, and as in Stiller's *Gunnar Hedes saga*, their extreme vulnerability when alone.

The function of nature most clearly comes to the fore in narratives which depict characters immersed in literal struggles with the environment. This is certainly displayed in the *Bergfilme* (mountain films) of Arnold Fanck produced in the early to mid-1920s. The joyous exuberance of the skiers in his first film, the documentary *Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs* (1919/20), was followed in 1921 by *Im Kampf mit dem Berg* and the increasingly plot-driven, melodramatic films which followed provide an exhilarating yet alarming account of the antagonistic relationship between nature and man (Fig. 43). These films display such extreme, dynamic shots of landscape which even take the form of avalanches that the films' magnificent photography nearly relegate them to visual 'attractions' rather than character-driven plot development, and nature is not used metaphorically in the manner stated above.

Floods, fires, and in particular storms in the form of electrical storms, sandstorms, and storms at sea, are not only reflections are characters' emotions but are now protagonists which figure in the narrative as a catalyst. The personification of landscape or weather is a fellow actor interacting with the human characters, playing a decisive narrative role in human destiny. When threatened by nature, as in Sjöström's *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* (1917), survival can depend on joint effort. It is this film in which nature is quite clearly featured as one of the main characters, functioning as both refuge and adversary. Here the mountains serve as a refuge from a hostile society, but eventually the frozen landscape which consumes Berg-Ejvind and his wife becomes the setting for their inescapable fate which in turn is capable of offering them final peace. Sjöström's use of the lengthy sandstorm in his Hollywood film *The Wind* (1927) further expands this device; here the wind is used psychologically and rationally, with the storm in Letty's mind being produced by the storm of the wind.

3.3.1.2 Constructed Settings

The commonly understood historical view of the German silent cinema is its strong emphasis on set design and construction. Particularly by the early 1920s this practice was so prevalent that shooting scripts were illustrated with sketches visualising the sets and the desired effects of light and shadow were decided upon prior to the actual construction with set builders. So important were these designed and purpose-built sets that there were very few German films of artistic intent during these years which did not rely primarily on constructed sets, with Fanck's mountain films and Murnau's select early films mentioned above being the two most noted German exceptions. With such a majority of films displaying studio-built sets, certainly not every constructed setting was as elaborate as, for example, Wiene's painterly, theatrical film sets or Lang's intricate and massive architectural settings. The influence of Expressionism found in Wiene's *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* was again displayed in his less Expressionist and more decorative *Genuine*, although the quite chaotic and confusing sets were designed by the Expressionist painter César Klein. Wiene's *Raskolnikow* again contains elements of Expressionism as in the nightmarish staircase scene, using expressive lighting unlike the two-dimensional and often painted lighting effects in *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*.

Although Murnau has been grouped with film Expressionism for many decades, film historians today generally agree on the inappropriateness of such a label. Certainly in Murnau's case, one finds no evidence of the Expressionist set design found in the strict canon. For the most part, Murnau's films display an integration of natural settings with constructed sets, combining landscape and actual location shots with scenes shot in studio interiors, with quite an equal balance being achieved in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. Towards the end of this film after numerous interior settings, there is a cut to landscape with a trajectory path through an arch which relieves a certain sense of

claustrophobia. As in this film, *Nosferatu*, and *Der brennende Acker*, the exterior settings are primarily shot on location including the rivers and lakes. It was not until *Faust* in the mid-1920s that recreations of natural settings in a Murnau film were wholly constructed in the studio, as *Der letzte Mann* and *Tartüff* took place in urban locales. This practice had been standard in Germany since the early 1920s, most well documented in the colossal cement and plaster trees built for Lang's *Siegfried* to create the stylised ancient forest (Fig. 12) which integrated well with the equally stylised castle sets.

While these astounding set accomplishments seem well integrated as features of the epic saga, those films with realistic intentions presented set designers with the much more difficult task of imitating natural scenery in the studio. A typical example of German recreations of nature can be seen in Rudolf Dworsky's *Wilhelm Tell* (1923) for Aaga Film in Berlin. The alpine locales, raging seas, and shoreline with cliffs which were constructed in the studio (Fig. 44) are obvious fabrications; even with an art director of Ernst Stern's stature, these full-scale sets have no more verisimilitude than a miniature reconstruction, with the storm consisting of a boat in the studio rocking irregularly intercut with shots of water cast in the air. As mentioned above, *Wilhelm Tell* is unlike many German films from 1923 in that it also contains shots taken on location, as when characters walk near an impressive waterfall, with the contrast between the sets and natural settings resulting in a general inconsistency of stylisation and naturalism. Paul Leni's elaborate set which reconstructs a stormy cove (Fig. 45) in Joe May's *Der Farmer aus Texas* (1925) is more convincing than its quite similar counterpart in *Wilhelm Tell*, in part due to the complicated and nuanced lighting.

Many of Klercker's 34 films which were produced from 1912 to 1918 used real exteriors shot on location in Gothenburg, and rooftops and busy streets filled with cars and trams were often privileged. Murnau's sense of exteriors appears more stylised and shows no evidence of the near documentary qualities Klercker's background

settings exude. In Murnau one often finds directly opposed settings which create contrast. For example, the shots of the miniature of the manor house in *Schloß Vogelöd* vary only as to the changing weather conditions and it remains a static exterior image (Fig. 46), with the claustrophobic atmosphere broken only by the arrival of the carriage and the three shots in the bright sunshine of the women, children, and their poodle which are mentioned above. Murnau's use of set models to represent exteriors, as in *Schloß Vogelöd*, was not uncommon in German cinema, with the model of the Indian temple in Joe May's *Das indische Grabmal* being one example. Even a director such as Lubitsch who was able to command full-scale sets made use of miniatures on occasion, with at least two examples being detected in *Sumurun* (1920).[65] An equivalent in the Swedish cinema, however, has not been found, if one discounts the inclusion of the model of the doll on the ladder with surrounding landscape used to portray Lill-Ingmar's ascent into heaven in *Ingmarssönerna*.

The German cinema of these years displays multiple examples of extravagant architectural sets, and many of the most well-known were designed by Hermann Warm, Walter Röhrig, Robert Herlth, Otto Hunte, and Paul Leni. Lubitsch's comedy films are particularly fanciful and even outlandish in sets designed by prominent art directors such as Kurt Richter and Ernst Stern. Arthur von Gerlach's *Zur Chronik von Grieshuus* (1924/25) could be considered quite naturalistic with its fine, bucolic landscapes, although the stylised architectural constructions designed by Hans Poelzig which bear a strong resemblance to Poelzig's earlier sets in *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* from 1920 certainly set it apart from the naturalism found in earlier exterior location shots. Fritz Lang's films reveal his heavy reliance on set design which is extremely stylized, and the sheer monumentality of the exterior and interior sets is quite singular. The perpendicular lines and architectonic symmetry contain a studied formality quite unlike the directorial choices of Murnau. The tremendous wall in Lang's *Der müde Tod* is

representative of his particular propensity for the stiffness and rigidity of the sets in *Siegfried*, *Kriemhilds Rache*, and *Metropolis*, which Lang strengthened in the latter films through the additional counterpart of the formations of faceless, and therefore anonymous, soldiers and workers. This preponderance of symmetry, often with the elaborate staging of crowds, finds no correlation with the films of Murnau and the Swedish directors under consideration.

Manor houses, villas, and castles figure prominently in both German and Swedish films. While not as obvious in the films of Sjöström which more frequently address peasant or fishing communities, his *Hans Nåds testamente*, *Klostret i Sendomir*, and *Vem dömer?*, as well as Stiller's films and in particular those of Klercker widely make use of aristocratic settings in their films. The numerous instances of castle courtyards tend to privilege arches, a motif which runs through such German films as Leni's *Dornröschen*, Gade's *Hamlet*, Murnau's *Nosferatu*, and Lang's *Nibelungen* films, with Swedish examples to include Stiller's *Herr Arnes pengar*, and Sjöström's *Klostret i Sendomir* and *Vem dömer?* in particular. Indeed, arches, arched openings, and vaulted ceilings are pervasive in the villa scenes in *Der brennende Acker*, denoting the house's grandeur in contrast to the small, square windows of the wooden farmhouse. The cold, stone arches play a symbolic role in the opening shot of the villa's cold, windy courtyard as the location of greedy dealings and callous indifference; the film then concludes with its antithesis and the wayward Johannes' return after many years to his simple, warm room in the farmhouse.

Murnau's repeated inclusion of arches in his films is further emphasised through the careful positioning of characters, a conspicuous function not commonly found in the Swedish and German films, with the exquisite lighting and framing of the attendants who flank Kriemhild at Siegfried's coffin at the beginning of Lang's *Kriemhilds Rache* being an exception (Fig. 47). The well-known image of Count Orlok's arched back which follows the open arch at the castle's entrance

is also seen later in Helga's posture in *Der brennende Acker*, her rounded back following the curve of the window. As the vampire enters Hutter's room, his size increases until it conforms to the shape of the arched door. In each of these cases, it is the architectural form which is emphasised and given priority in the frame rather than the human figures.

As with archways and windows, doors and doorways also have the function of emphasising or isolating when static figures are framed in the doorway within the composition. Their standard association is, of course, with entrances and exits and thus with the movement of figures; doors which seem to defy this accepted view are those in the castle in *Nosferatu* which open and close of their own accord and again in the town where doors are useless in obstructing the vampire. Doorways create division of scenic space, which create different planes within a single shot; in the 1910s in particular, a doorway was commonly used to divide two rooms, with action taking place simultaneously with the doorway as a frequent passageway. This use of a dividing wall with a door to separate foreground and deep space is a device common to both German and Swedish films during these years. An illustrative example is found in Richard Oswald's *Der ewige Zweifel* (1919), a film which alternates quite equally between the two settings of the protagonist's domicile (Fig. 48) and his favourite café (Fig. 49). The setting at home is composed of a foreground sitting room and a dining room placed in depth with both rooms divided by a wall with a centred rectangular opening. The man's wife and particularly their maid approach the camera and retreat as they walk back and forth between the dining and sitting rooms. The interior sets of Murnau's films tend to be more discrete, with wider openings into adjoining rooms creating a subtler division, although his use of staging in depth particularly in the earliest extant films retains many similarities with earlier choices in staging. This is evident in Helene's rooms in *Der Gang in die Nacht* in which several key scenes between her and Börne occur near the fireplace, with

the adjoining room associated with Helene's solitude clearly visible behind them.

Ceilings in the majority of the films analysed are not necessarily included in the composition or even constructed, and are very rarely visible in Swedish cinema. This could be attributed to the more prevalent use of natural lighting for interior shots in Sweden which necessarily requires that ceilings are omitted. The addition of ceilings is, however, clearly visible in select German films such as Leni's set designs for *Hintertreppe* and Poelzig's for *Der Golem* and can also be found in films directed by Lang, Pabst, and Murnau. Scenes taking place in castles tend to reveal the vaulted ceilings, as in many of the shots in *Nosferatu* and the spinning room's arched set design in *Der brennende Acker*, and similar vaulting appears as ceiling elements in Pabst's *Der Schatz* as well as in Lang's *Der müde Tod*. Other instances of ceilings are also found in Lily's bedroom upstairs in the seaside house in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. The unexpected inclusion of a ceiling is visible in the Port Authority building in *Nosferatu*, as well as in Knock's office.

Perhaps more than any other element of mise en scène, it is interior set designs which are used as specific indications of social class. These are used quite overtly in Pick's *Scherben* (1921) to emphasise the juxtaposition of the lowly dwelling of the railway worker and the elegant railway dining carriage with wooden panels and refined fixtures. As with the strongly contrasted social-class settings in *Sylvester* (1923), Pick seeks to engage the viewer's sympathy for those more impoverished by using elements in affluent establishments which emphasise indifference and superficiality rather than social breeding and education. Klercker's interiors, on the other hand, are most often houses belonging to the bourgeoisie around whom his stories frequently revolve, and are therefore decorated with appropriate heavy furniture and curtains, paintings and elaborate lamps. The lighter, more sophisticated elegance of Axel Esbensen's sets for *Erotikon* is not commonly seen in the films under consideration, and draws closer comparisons with Hollywood set

designs; close similarities in the graceful refinement, design details, and verticality can be found, for example, in Lubitsch's *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1926) with sets designed by Harold Grieve. Murnau's early films reveal a weighted representation of aristocratic interiors in *Schloß Vogelöd*, *Der brennende Acker*, and *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* in which a depiction of elegance is displayed through the choice of high walls and large windows, tall doors, and marble parquet floors. The upper-middle-class residences of both Professor Börne and Helene in *Der Gang in die Nacht* also exhibit high walls in Helene's rooms, with Börne's study much darker with shelves of books amongst the conservative furnishings. The seaside house shared by Börne and Lily is decorated much more simply, but is also tastefully furnished. The rich Biedermeier décor of Harding's house in *Nosferatu*, with its strongly patterned floral wallpaper, ornate interiors, and distinctive furniture is contrasted with the lower-middle-class interiors of Hutter and Ellen. The lower-class dwellings in Klercker's films are simple, dirty, and shabby, with a naturalism not seen in the more stylised studio sets of Sjöström's *Körkarlen*. The peasant farmhouse interiors depicted in both Murnau's *Der brennende Acker* and in surviving still photographs from his non-extant *Die Austreibung* (1923) are sparsely furnished, with the small windows allowing only minimal light and therefore are often portrayed with low-key lighting.

3.3.1.3 Props and Inanimate Objects

The 'Lubitsch Touch' refers to this director's use of inanimate objects to reveal the vulnerability of human characters, and became a term used after he refined this device in Hollywood. Even in his earlier German films, such as *Kohlhiesels Töchter*, *Die Bergkatze*, and *Sumurun*, objects are not merely present, but are thrown, broken, donned, and so forth. An object's significance might be nothing more than that it is the first thing at hand, and is an extension of a character's method of expression, as opposed to the established usage such as the Count's

cane in *Der brennende Acker* and that of His Lordship in *Hans Nåds testamente* which is a standard prop used to emphasise age. Lubitsch's particular flair with props is, however, quite different from the manner in which objects function in the films of Murnau, other German directors, and the Swedish cinema.

The German *Kammerspiel* film, in particular, emphasises sparse and lowly interiors in which inanimate objects take on symbolic functions. The simple interior of the isolated dwelling in *Scherben* where the railway worker lives with his wife and daughter is exceptionally bleak; this in turn emphasises the rather ordinary details which symbolise the family's suffering, such as the hanging picture of the Madonna and the adjacent window bars and curtain which create the form of a crucifix (Fig. 13). Just as Johannes's vacant bowl indicates his absence in *Der brennende Acker*, so the indentation in the mother's pillow in *Scherben* is even more poignant in signifying her fate (Fig. 50). What is unique in Murnau's use of inanimate objects, however, is how they function in creating a specific mood by using props as visual 'shorthand' to speak succinctly to earlier references and create associations through comparison; this is illustrated with the rocking hammock in *Nosferatu*, first inhabited and then empty signifying the sailor's absence, its motion further emphasised by the simultaneous movement of the ship's swinging lamp. This device is used again in *Der brennende Acker* as the hand support hanging over the newly deceased Alte Rog's bed continues to swing back and forth. Whereas Lubitsch's situations often encourage lengthy and drawn-out resolutions, Murnau prefers concise solutions to directorial problems; his statement regarding the use of contrasting images as a method for reducing or eliminating intertitles describes a device neatly displayed by G.W. Pabst in *Die freudlose Gasse* (1925), in which the shot of Greta's two coats, one of worn cloth and the other of expensive fur, are objects used as a visual device to indicate her change of profession from clerk to prostitute.

Means of transport are for the most part relegated to standard set elements, but in this sample of films created in the 1910s and early 1920s, there are an astounding number of films which privilege the presence of both horses and horse-drawn carriages. The carriage becomes a motif in *Nosferatu* and is prominent as a repeatedly used means of conveyance which later becomes a sinister mode of transport delivering the victim to the vampire. Although understandably present in peasant films set in the 19th century such as *Ingmarssönerna*, the horse and carriage is the only transportation visible in *Schloß Vogelöd* and *Der brennende Acker* (Fig. 51), despite both films' contemporary setting of 1921 and inclusion of members of the aristocracy. Likewise, in Murnau's *Phantom* the protagonist is run over by a horse and carriage, resulting in his obsession with the affluent young woman being transported, with her horse and carriage becoming a recurring leitmotif throughout the film. Motor-cars indicate urban modernity and are most visible in the German street films, the work of Klercker, and are also on occasion present in Stiller's films; although figuring quite prominently in Stiller's *Erotikon* (1920), a film which in a sense promotes the latest technological advances such as private aeroplanes for pleasure, the function of these objects falls in line with conventional usage.

Animals are also effective props used to reflect human emotions and is well displayed in the changing temperament of the seemingly distressed horses in *Nosferatu* which signifies the foreboding and fear of the peasants. An innocent kitten is an extension of a young woman's virtue and purity illustrated in the same film by the playful kitten which Ellen holds at the window (Fig. 52). This scene is a very near replication of a shot in Hedqvist's earlier *Dunungen* from 1919, in which the lovely young woman Anne-Marie amuses herself with the kitten with the ball of yarn (Fig. 53). Likewise the kitten on the bench at the beginning of *Storstadsfaror* (1918), directed by Klercker's assistant Manne Göthson, is symbolic of Inga's innocence before her disillusioning experiences in the city. Symbolising not equanimity but trepidation is the function of

the cat which crosses the roof in *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam*; the cat which walks gingerly but securely across the tall rooftop foreshadows Mirjam's walk at a great height on the roof and the later death of her lover Florian whom the Golem throws from the tower. The caged bird in *Der brennende Acker* symbolises not the commonly held interpretation of restriction indicated with the pair of caged birds representing Kajsa and Pelle's stifled existence while obligated to Mäster Eneman in Sjöström's *Mästerman*, but rather Peter's closeness to nature and his contentment with his small, contained world.

Quite an interesting prop is the portrait and its function as a lure. As Bo Florin points out in his analysis of *Dunungen* [66], the use of the portrait for this purpose is depicted rather cleverly in Ivan Hedqvist's film based on Selma Lagerlöf's story; here the portrait of her fiancé's uncle hangs, quite intentionally it seems, in the young protagonist's bedroom where she is a guest in the uncle's house. As her affection for the uncle becomes stronger, she is shown gazing extensively at his portrait, and in one scene she sits at her dressing-table directly beneath the portrait and gazes back and forth between the portrait and her own reflection in the dressing-table mirror, creating a link between the two characters which continues to increase as the film progresses. In *Nosferatu* Ellen's portrait in the locket acts as a lure for the vampire which he gazes upon in fascination and this locket which is in the husband's possession and spurs his hasty return to his wife becomes a linking device which intertwines the three characters. Ellen is also depicted in close-up on two occasions with an oval mask which simulates the portrait, reminding the spectator of her function in the narrative as a lure. It is in Grune's *Die Straße*, a film closely aligned with Murnau's sensibilities, that the portrait of the wife created by superimposition inside the wedding ring held by the husband functions as an unsuccessful lure; the husband suffers momentary feelings of guilt which quickly fade and disappear, as does the wife's portrait, in the presence of the disreputable trollop whom he has befriended.

Mirrors deal with visual perception, and are therefore motifs of seeing. The use of mirrors as a filmic device functions in numerous ways. It is an object which creates duplicity of images, as seen in the reflected image of the vampire as his fate is decided at the cock's crow. Mirrors are also used to reveal personal traits, as in Olof startled realisation of his flawed character in *Sången om den eldröda blomman* directed by Stiller. Deliberate and telling framing creates four reflections of Sascha Gura in Murnau's non-extant *Der Bucklige und die Tänzerin*; as she gazes admiringly into her hand-held mirror, the viewer sees four reflections of her head, with attention clearly drawn to the reflection of her face's reflection in the hand-held mirror. The careful positioning of her hand mirror could almost appear to be a conscious decision to allow the viewer to share her appreciative glance. As a replication device, the mirror in Sjöström's *Dödskyssen* further expands his double portrayal as both Weyler and Lebel to create a startling view of four Sjöström images. A quite poignant example is found in Klercker's *Kärleken segrar* from 1916, in which the lingering mirrored reflection in the train window signifies the woman's double life involving deception; the spurious double life present in Murnau's *Der letzte Mann* is similarly indicated by the mirror creating the duplicate image of the drunken former doorman (Fig. 54). The above are examples of the common filmic use of mirrors as a reflective prop; the function of mirrors as a device with which off-screen space is articulated is addressed in the discussion of framing in Section 3.4.2.

3.3.2 Lighting

Lighting in Swedish films is seen to be one of its attributes, and is described as clear, luminous, atmospheric, and bucolic. High-key lighting is ubiquitous and permeates the films with warmth and optimism. Julius Jaenzon's technical brilliance and artistry in his role as the primary cinematographer is clearly evident in films such as *Körkarlen* which require outstanding special effects, but it is his

capturing of delicate and diffused light which is primarily considered to be characteristic of the Swedish cinema. Jaenzon's brother Henrik has achieved nearly the same reputation, with his sensitivity displayed in an early scene in the frame story of Sjöström's *Klostret i Sendomir* which contains a particularly symbolic use of light; sunlight through the patterned church window is cast on the back of old Starschensky as he turns and walks away, both visually addressing his transition from count to monk and foreshadowing the potential for death from the open window from which Elga threatens to throw her child in Act 4. Sunlight was used by both Murnau and the Swedish directors as a common source of illumination with overhead diffused sunlight regulated with curtains and blinds. Examples of bright, natural sunlight in Murnau's films can be found, although the quality of light in general differs from Swedish films in the less frequent use of high-key lighting. In *Nosferatu* one finds similar lighting during the scenes in which Harding and his sister are playing croquet (Fig. 55) and then cross over the dunes to the sea to deliver Ellen's letter, and in *Schloß Vogelöd* in the rare but welcome outdoor shots of the women with the poodle and children under the trees and at the lake shore. Slightly harder than soft lighting is evident in *Der Gang in die Nacht* even in the location shots, with the inclusion in the film of especially dramatic low-key light during the unbandaging scene. Lighting in other film sequences, as in Johannes' inspection of the Teufelsacker by lantern light, show Murnau's preferred lighting choices being at times much more typical of German lighting practices in 1920.

German lighting of exteriors and interiors in the 1910s made use of daylight controlled with blinds and curtains, as did the Swedish cinema. By the late 1910s and early 1920s, however, the control afforded by studio lighting became the preferred choice in Germany. Lamps are a customary element of interior décor, and are often props which provide motivated lighting that is rarely rendered in a realistic manner. In *Der Gang in die Nacht* Murnau emphasises the hanging

lamp's significance as a light source as Lily drapes a small cloth over the side of the lampshade in order to protect the Painter's newly operated eyes from the bright lamplight; this scene is quite evenly it with the lamplight itself surprisingly subdued. This could perhaps be attributed to the more uniform lighting provided by arc footlights. Expressionist lighting was quite flat and rarely used in an expressive manner, even though *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* contains actual shadows depicting, for instance, the murder of Alan in addition to the painted shadows for which it is well-known. The prevalent use of shadows as an intrinsic element in the Jack the Ripper episode of Leni's *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett* (1924) functions in quite the same manner as other films which unquestionably belong to the canon of Expressionist films display with the rendering of light through the painting of sets and costumes to reproduce the effects of low-key lighting. Lamps were used for frontal and side lighting to enhance the integration of sets and costumed figures. Arthur Robison's *Schatten* (1923), with its realistic use of shadows which the protagonist misinterprets as adultery, is not considered expressionistic, and likewise the provocative depictions on the wall which emphasise the claustrophobic room in Grune's *Die Straße* (1923) and the logically integrated cast shadows in Rochus Gliese's *Der verlorene Schatten* (1921).

Unlike many German films, the lighting sources in the Swedish cinema are most often motivated, with the marked exception of Klercker whose films quite consistently display naturalistic lighting quality with occasional instances of more nuanced lighting choices. In the films of Sjöström and many of Stiller's, lighting which is motivated by a window (Fig. 56) or fireplace often emanates from that source only, and different areas of the set could be unevenly lighted, which could affect the staging choices of the directors. Although examples of logically motivated lighting can certainly be found in Murnau's films (Fig. 57), his predilection for the frontal lighting effects quite evident in the above illustration includes primarily unmotivated lighting; this choice also

contributes significantly to his penchant for stylisation. Although Lang and Murnau's varied lighting choices mark Murnau's as the more stylised, he shares in this sense Lang's use of light to create sculptural shapes and enhance plasticity, regardless of logical motivation. The shot, for example, of the two door-like shapes of light which physically separate the estranged Baron and Baroness Safferstätt create a highly stylised, fixed and motionless tableau which apart from the *Nibelungen* films finds no German or Swedish equivalent. In general, Murnau uses flat lighting from arc floodlights to the front, with a most dramatic exception being the artificial, harsh side edge lighting from the left in *Nosferatu* as the vampire slowly enters Hutter's room.

At times Murnau used nature to penetrate interior settings by making frequent use of natural diffused sunlight shining through the studio roof and set windows, and his characters in interior scenes are frequently positioned near windows, a directorial decision which no doubt affected set design; in *Der Gang in die Nacht* there are two towering windows with long curtains in Helene's house which are repeated sources of light used to comment on her loneliness. Dreyer's *Prästänken*, which was produced by Svensk Filmindustri in 1920 exhibits numerous instances of sensitive lighting, using primarily available daylight. In a scene from *Prästänken* which recalls Johannes' isolation from the group in front of the farmhouse window in *Der brennende Acker,* Mari shown sitting inside with the scene shot from both sides of the window, a choice which further emphasises her fear of being estranged from her fiancé Söfren.

Motivated lighting sources such as candles and fireplaces are frequently used in interiors and in exterior night scenes. Lighted candles are invariably not the sole source of lighting although in these films attempts are usually made to recreate a certain amount of realistic light and shadow. The candles on the desk which motivate the illumination of the room in Dworsky's *Wilhelm Tell*, however, shine as brightly as huge arc lamps, a non-realistic lighting effect also present in a similar scene

in Sjöström's *Mästerman* (1920). The candle as a symbolic device is seen in *Nosferatu* with a candle in Harding's house situated near the window; the second time it is shown, a strong gust of wind which is indicated by fluttering curtains extinguishes the lighted candle, a final decisive omen for Harding's plague-ridden sister. Fireplaces are often found in the films of Murnau and given quite prominent positions in the frame when both cold and warm. The numerous lighted fireplaces seen in *Der Gang in die Nacht* are often used in scenes alluding to fearful situations, as with the distress Lily feels at Börne's departure (Fig. 58) and later the Painter's loss of sight, and also function to create parallelism, most dramatically as both Helene and Börne read letter by the light emanating from their respective fireplaces. Interior scenes were often shot with low-key lighting with an obvious source of illumination such as a single lantern or candle, and gauze on the lens could be used to enhance the warm glow and augment chiaroscuro. This quality is evident from the beginning in Wegener and Boese's *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* (Fig. 59) and the low-key lighting in this film is usually motivated logically in interiors with lanterns and candles and in exteriors with torches. This characteristic of German interior lighting quite conceivably corresponds most closely to the equivalent found in the Swedish cinema, specifically in the chiaroscuro present in Benjamin Christensen's *Häxan* (1922) in which the sculpturing with light emphasises the plasticity of the figures. It is precisely in these low-key lighting shots rather than naturalistic outdoor lighting that correlations can be found which correspond closely to similar lighting concerns.

Occasional low-key lighting can also be found in earlier examples from Swedish cinema, usually achieved with diffused sunlight controlled with cloth and blinds, complemented with arc floodlights for higher contrast; the low-key lighting effects seen in *Dödskyssen* (1916) conceivably display Sjöström's use of this method. More dramatic is Klercker's sporadic use of motivated low-key lighting, with one of his earliest examples being *Ministerpresidenten* from 1916. The lawyer's

break-in is filmed using only the light from his torch which illuminates his theft of the desired documents. This device can be seen most strikingly, however, in his *Fången på Karlstens fästing* of the same year in the numerous shots of torchlight on the fortress's dark, narrow passages (Fig. 6) and stairways, and later in Sjöström's use of similar torchlight which illuminates Mäster Eneman's view at night as he surveys the interior of the pawnshop in *Mästerman*. Sjöström's earlier, more expressive use of light is displayed as the sunlight slowly makes a path across Brita's cell wall in *Ingmarssönerna* from 1918 (Fig. 4). Sjöström refined this device to an even greater degree in *Klostret i Sendomir* at the beginning of Act 3; Count Starschensky sits in his study in a trance and the sunlight slowly begins to cross his face, touching first his right cheek and then continuing until his face is bathed in light. Murnau is less subtle, as in the use of artificial light in the studio to simulate the rays of sunlight which awaken Hutter at the inn. *Der brennende Acker* also shows exaggerated, stylised lighting and shadows which fall on the cross of the Teufelsacker, motivated by the hand-held lantern, and is an instance of incongruity with the other lighting choices for the film.

Backlighting using the sun as the motivating source is found occasionally in both German and Swedish films, its effect often being that of strengthening or enhancing characters' emotional moods. Backlighting is used by Murnau in *Schloß Vogelöd* in the baroness's flashback of her earlier idyllic life, the sun creating a halo effect as she quietly arranges a vase of flowers (Fig. 20), and this lighting effect also softens Ellen's figure which is appropriate for the loving message in her needlework (Fig. 27). Much harsher backlighting is used in *Der brennende Acker* to create the silhouette of the brooding, troubled figure of Johannes in his study (Fig. 60). Silhouetting could perhaps be thought of as an extreme case of attached shadows, clearly negating any rendering of plasticity. An early example is *Fången på Karlstens fästning* (1916) in which Klercker creates silhouettes of both the watchman and

Mary as she attempts to escape (Fig. 61). Silhouetted figures which indicate a lively party are seen from outside a window in Jessner and Leni's *Hintertreppe* (Fig. 62), a device also used later by Murnau in *Der letzte Mann* (Fig. 63). Unmotivated uses of backlighting are rarely found in both German and Swedish films in the late 1910s and early 1920s, with usage becoming much more common by the mid- to late 1920s. Silhouettes which are created with cut-out patterns rather than light are found in *Siegfried* during Kriemhild's dream sequence with the large predatory birds, and most notably in Lotte Reiniger's filmic animation with *Scheren* silhouettes. Quite unique in the films under consideration is the use of Lily's cast shadows in *Der Gang in die Nacht* to create her severely distorted image during the lightning storm. The well-executed, eerily uncanny effect of Lily's shadow can only be examined by isolating several frames to discover the non-realistic angular and rounded shapes which represent her form (Figs. 64, 65). Unlike the exaggeration of German shadows effects which are clearly pronounced, Lily's non-realistic shadow is intended to be imperceptible yet effective in creating unease.

The occurrence of cast shadows in *Nosferatu* is well known, particularly the shot of Nosferatu's shadow as he ascends the stairs to enter Ellen's room; it is no doubt the film's inclusion of the vampire's threatening shadows which contributed to the incorrect classification as Expressionist. The immense, looming shadow of the vampire in *Nosferatu* is one of several instances in which cast shadows are used to indicate off-screen space, with the vampire remaining off-screen with only the shadows he casts being visible. Nosferatu's attacks on both Hutter and Ellen are portrayed with cast shadows of the vampire's hands on their bodies; Ellen clutches her left breast as the shadow grabs her heart and indeed the vampire's entire advance and attack are achieved entirely with shadows, the vampire occupying off-screen space. Parallelism is depicted with shadows cast in the identical place on the castle fireplace, first of Hutter and then of the vampire, a function of

linking seen earlier in *Fången på Karlstens fästning* in the projected shadow images which signify quite distorted windows bars on the walls of both Mary's cell and Greve de Faber's office in the fortress.

3.3.3 Costumes and Make-up

Just as settings serve to identify and elucidate the particularities of a scene's location, so costumes are signifiers which can contribute to meaning, often clarifying the narrative as well as contributing to the viewer's understanding of how characters are generally defined. As costume overwhelmingly complements a chosen setting, this combination creates immediate recognition in the viewer who in turn expects additional like elements which correspond, for example, to a particular genre, location, or time period. The manner in which costume functions is indeed in the same way that street clothing is used to express one's self-definition and individuality. A particular mode of dress in film intrinsically identifies itself with commonly held interpretations in western culture; it is this information which is readily conveyed to an audience which can be utilised by a director to denote a particular time period, social class, or even the portrayal of a fantasy world as opposed to the accepted conventions of reality.

In order to determine the particular era in which a film takes place, costume design can often be the most easily discernible element, especially when more overt references such as means of transport are lacking. An example of costume's importance can be seen in *Der brennende Acker* which, given costuming of an earlier period, could easily be thought to take place in the 19th century; horse and carriage are the only means of transport seen throughout, and it is only the women's stylish clothing for 1921 which places the film as contemporary. Period costumes are present in *Nosferatu*, and in the episodes in the non-extant *Satanas* (1919/20) set in ancient Egypt and the Italian Renaissance, otherwise Murnau's early films display contemporary dress. The striking prevalence of German films in the

early 1920s set in exotic milieux such as China, Egypt, India, Japan, and the Arabian Nights finds no correlation in Swedish cinema, the films of which are overwhelmingly set in historical or contemporary Sweden. Likewise one finds little of the heavy make-up and dramatic, even outlandish, costumes which integrate so well with the settings in Lubitsch's *Die Bergkatze*, or the painted expressionist costumes worn, for example, by Fern Andra in Wiene's *Genuine* from 1920. Curiously, the extravagantly decorative costumes in *Genuine* which integrate characters into the comparable sets are an exception in the strict canon of expressionist films. The marked realism of the costumes within the heightened expressionistic sets in Karl Heinz Martin's *Von Morgens bis Mitternachts* (1920), Kobe's *Torgus* (1920), and Wiene's *Raskolnikow* (1923) display the same incongruity found in the realistic street clothing of Francis and Allan in *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*.

Lang's costumes in *Siegfried* portray the belligerent Hagen and Brunhild in black in a state of war with the hero Siegfried (Fig. 103) and his wife Kriemhild in white or light colours, quite clearly evil forces against good. White does not always signify purity and honesty, as with the choice of the white shirt worn by the disreputable Oginsky in *Klostret i Sendomir* at night; here the stark whiteness against the dark background functions graphically as a moving torch which aids the viewer in tracing the path of his escape from the tower window. This method of directing the viewer's eye to a particular character through the use of contrasting light or dark clothing was not an uncommon stylistic device in the cinema, but is surprisingly not apparent to any obvious extent in the films analysed here.

Social-class differences can also be made evident through dress. Börne wears elegant suits befitting a prominent doctor in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. The rich shipowner Harding in *Nosferatu* is well-groomed (Fig. 55) and is seen in costumes as varied as a large cape and top hat and his finely embroidered dressing-gown. In *Der brennende Acker*, Gerda's numerous changes of clothing displaying various types of stylish outfits

indicate her elevated status as an aristocrat's daughter (Fig. 113), a contrast to the unvarying peasant attire worn by Peter. His quite non-descript dress is also in keeping with many costumes in Swedish peasant dramas, however, there is an additional abundance of traditional peasant folk costumes in the many Swedish national-romantic films at this time, which were set primarily in the 19th century. These are essentially not present in the peasant films made in Germany, including those of Murnau, which are vaguely contemporary and present costumes which emphasise the farmer's lack of urban refinement, with clothing being mended, worn, and faded. The entirely more modernist cinema in Germany favoured contemporary films containing current fashions, with films set in the past displaying highly refined or eccentric costuming. In contrast to Swedish cinema, historical films in Germany exhibit a distinct avoidance of the 19th century as a preferred setting, with costumes from the Middle Ages to the 18th century well represented by the pointed hats in *Der Golem* with robes which differ little from Gade's *Hamlet*, the stylisation of costumes in the two *Nibelungen* films, the velvets and furs worn in Oswald's *Lucrezia Borgia* (1922) and Lubitsch's *Anna Boleyn*, as well as the lavish detail of both costumes and sets in his *Madame Dubarry*. The care taken in the creation of costumes was quite exacting, apparent in the many films with exotic and fantasy settings, such as Lang's *Harakiri* and the German films with embedded narratives set, for example, in China requiring foreign and fanciful costume designs which are not found in Swedish cinema. In Lubitsch's comedies alone, one finds peculiarly overstated costumes which complement the whimsical sets of *Die Austernprinzessin* (1919), *Die Puppe* (1919), and *Die Bergkatze* (1921) (Fig. 85). In each of the above cases, German costuming is a key element in conveying a heightened reality far different from that found in the native domesticity of Swedish films.

The vampire in *Nosferatu* is dressed quite elegantly as is appropriate for a count, and it is therefore his exaggerated make-up

which emphasises his predatory nature through the rat-like teeth and long talons (Figs. 66, 69) which accompany his large, bald head and overly bushy eyebrows. Amongst the films considered here from the early 1920s, it is curiously this particular costume prop of talons which is found to appear to an unusually great extent. Talons as a prop belong quite rightly to the fantastic world of non-human, devilish creatures (Fig. 67) found in Benjamin Christensen's *Häxan* (1922), but the single instance in *Körkarlen* (Fig. 71) directed at the dying Salvation Army worker is at odds with the naturalistic acting present throughout the film. Talons as a tool for exaggerated gestures are present in the guest's nightmare (Fig. 72) in the quite solemn *Schloß Vogelöd* (1921) as he imagines being attacked by talons through his bedroom window; this dream recalls Dreyer's earlier *Prästänkan* (1920) in Söfren and Mari's thwarted attempt to frighten to death the elderly widow resting in bed (Fig. 68). After incorporating talons into *Schloß Vogelöd* and *Nosferatu*, Murnau again used the intrinsic threatening quality of talons in *Phantom* (Fig. 70), but here they are the logically motivated menacing shadows of the gabled street which pursue the protagonist.

Costume which functions as a disguise is amongst the films analysed perhaps most closely equated with the importance of costume's role in Fritz Lang's two Dr. Mabuse films; it is the many disguises themselves which make possible Mabuse's various incarnations which are the structural basis of the films. As a common device in creating mistaken identify, the costume with which Count Oetsch adopts the guise as the bearded monk Father Faramund in Murnau's *Schloß Vogelöd*, a deception which allows him to hear the baroness's private confessions. In Klercker's *Nattliga toner* from 1918, costume is again used to impersonate a specific character in order to incite a confession; a baron with theatrical aspirations steals the play of the promising playwright Peter Långhår upon murdering him; when an actor disguised as the dead Långhår appears at the theatre, the shocked baron falls through a stage trap-door, confessing his deed before dying.

Deception is also present in Klercker's earlier *Mysteriet natten till den 25:e* (1917), in which both the villain Craig and the famous private detective Cony Hoops use disguises, with Craig imitating the lord of the manor house and detective Hoops impersonating a lawyer. In *Tartüff,* Murnau uses both costume and false facial hair to disguise the grandson as a travelling entertainer who presents an elaborate film, in itself a clever imitation of events, with which he draws close parallels in order to reveal the housekeeper's malicious intentions regarding his grandfather.

Significant costumes which function as props include Awa's fisher-girl outfit in Klercker's *Fyrvaktarens dotter* from 1918 and Lily's dancing costume in Murnau's *Der Gang in die Nacht*. Both costumes are symbolic of early, happier days and are pieces of clothing which the women choose to wear again when distressed with their current lives. As Lily wears her costume on stage the first time she and Börne meet, it symbolises their mutual attraction; when this bond becomes threatened by the Painter, first Lily and later Börne clutch the dancing costume and wear or 'dance' with it wildly until they both become mentally unstable.

3.3.4 Figure Behaviour

In contrast to the general patterns of contemporary German acting styles, the Swedish directors' visual interpretations of characters' inner emotion are for the most part rendered in a psychologically intimate manner. Swedish acting was renowned at the time for its restraint and naturalism with modulated performances, demonstrated so effectively in Sjöström's *Ingmarssönerna* (Fig. 5) and *Karin Ingmarsdotter*. Acting in Swedish films is generally nuanced and unaffected, and emotional portrayals are controlled and psychologically rendered. The predominance of displaying introspective moods creates portrayals of inner psychological portraits, which are expressed with controlled, slow mannerisms and understated gestures.

It is perhaps this preference for minimal gestures which demonstrates the greatest distinction between Swedish naturalism and the more stylised German performances. German figure behaviour was also slowly paced but with a clear emphasis on pronounced gestures to communicate emotion. These could range from Fritz Kortner's expressionistic grimaces to the broad gestures in *Wilhelm Tell*, the crowd scenes with fists raised in the air functioning as mob discontentment without the deeper inferences of Lang's *Metropolis*. The long takes allowed for deep staging in long shot in which actors could display more complex pictorial elements and indeed were responsible to a greater extent in providing narrative emphasis than the reduced acting style required for films incorporating faster editing.[67] Murnau's actors at times display controlled, slow gestures and at times, broader acting styles are also found, as in Olaf Fønss's extreme histrionics in certain scenes (Fig. 40) in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. The uncontrolled outbursts found in Fønss's portrayal of Börne are the exception in a performance which favours traits of composure and patience, albeit with an abundance of unnaturalistic gestures (Fig. 78). Börne's rigidly held body posture is a parallel shared with the Painter on their separate trips as the rowboat approaches the shore (Figs. 21, 22).

A curious, repeated gesture in Murnau's early films is the slowly bowing head with arms hanging rather stiffly at the sides; in *Der Gang in die Nacht* alone, this posture is displayed on several occasions by the characters Börne, Helene (Fig. 73), and even Helene's maid who slowly bows her head after Börne is refused admittance by Helene (Fig. 74). These rather frozen poses which are held for a lengthy period of time, can be seen as a posed tableau shot reminiscent of film acting styles in the early to mid-1910s. Brewster and Jacobs have provided a thorough account of the presence and function of tableaux in European cinema during these years, and have identified distinctions between the immobile stances found in Asta Nielsen's performances, as in *Die arme Jenny* (1912) and the animated, non-tableau style of Lyda Borelli which

uses the pronounced repetition of gestures as a method of emphasis.[68] The penchant for the dramatic impact of the pose can be seen as late as 1924 in Wiene's *Orlacs Hände* in which the pianist's wife holds her arms stretched at full length towards the doctor in a fixed posture, beseeching him to heal her husband. The pianist is seen later wandering with arms outstretched as if in a trance. Conrad Veidt, an actor whose early work was exceedingly gestural, portrays the injured artist whose arms engulf his piano as he sits motionless in complete despair (Fig. 75). The use of the stylised tableau is not found in Murnau's *Nosferatu*, but it reappears in *Schloß Vogelöd* in the starkly rendered visualisation of the estrangement of the baron and baroness, their motionless bodies pressing against opposite walls as if attempting to create an even greater division between them. *Der brennende Acker* contains two different tableaux which are both composed to the left of the stove in the farmhouse, first the rigid group of figures assembled round Helga's dead body, and later as the motionless figures of Maria and the Alte Magd quietly observe the reconciliation of the two brothers.

As regards pronounced hand gestures, a striking element of Murnau's direction is that characters repeatedly use the gesture of stroking, be it curtains, a newspaper, or a lover's head as in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, the couple in the flashback sequence in *Schloß Vogelöd*, and the newly replaced doorman stroking the bellboy's chest in an effort to console himself in *Der letzte Mann*. This particular gesture is not found to be as prevalent in the work of other directors as in the films of Murnau. Conrad Veidt's solemnly dramatic gestural performance with particular emphasis on his long, bony fingers and claw-like hands was clearly not limited to *Der Gang in die Nacht* as it became an element of his personal style evidenced in films as diverse as Murnau's non-extant *Sehnsucht* (1919/20) and Wiene's *Orlacs Hände* (Fig. 10). Not limited to Veidt, this claw-like gesture with its Expressionist tradition was also an important element of Fritz Kortner's performance in Jessner and Leni's *Hintertreppe* (1921) and Fritz Lang incorporated the claw, raised fists,

and jerkily frenzied dancing as late as 1926 into *Metropolis*. Expressionist gestures appear but seldom in Murnau's films but that does not mean that the performances are naturalistic. His characters' portrayals generally include studied gestures, which are often quite dramatic. An exception is Ruth Landshoff in her first film role as Harding's sister in *Nosferatu*; this young woman was not a trained actress, yet she exudes a charming naturalness (Fig. 55) which is quite in keeping with the acting style predominant in Sweden, but rarely found amongst the performances directed by Murnau. Several other characters in this film even exhibit eccentric forms of animalistic behaviour; Count Orlak holds his hands up in front of his chest like a rodent, Hutter scuttles up the stairs on hands and feet like a crab, and Knock imitates the movements of primates by swinging from bars and hobbling down the street.

Depth staging was also prevalent in German films during these years, with spaces defined by doorways and arches; staging is found to be comparatively static and privileges the centrally framed door for entrances and exits, a staging choice which was shared by many directors internationally. The use of the long take favoured by the German director Richard Oswald in his 1919 film *Der ewige Zweifel* reveals depth staging but it is static (Figs. 48, 49) and quite uninventive. His film *Anders als die andern*, also from 1919, displays closer framings, many in medium close-up (Fig. 76), and although there is evidence of more diversity in staging practices, the patterns are quite perpendicular and routine. In contrast, Robert Reinert's *Opium* and *Nerven*, also from 1919, reveals extremely uncommon ambiguous spaces in which figures often occupy areas of the frame which are vague with backgrounds not well established.[69] Murnau, on the other hand, makes considerable use of depth staging which is first grounded in an establishing shot, using figure behaviour to direct the spectator's eye to various elements placed in deep space. In *Der brennende Acker*, for example, the sightlines of Peter and Maria are directed towards Johannes who sits isolated from

the rest of the group in depth in front of the oven. Lubitsch often used quite shallow space, as in *Kohlhiesels Töchter*, but by the early 1920s the prevalence of static frontal staging began to recede, with a greater instance of shallow depth in the majority of German films, and certainly in the films of Fritz Lang. Even Sjöström's style was to change dramatically by 1923, as can be observed in the very shallow depth he chose for *Eld ombord* (Fig. 77).

Staging in depth draws on the spatial concerns of deep-space composition and transforms them through a dynamic use of space. Although cutting is used at times for dramatic effects, as in Sjöström's *Terje Vigen* and Murnau's *Nosferatu*, all the films under consideration tend to show a preference for the long take, which favours staging in depth and is combined with deep-focus photography. Although his films are generally more dynamic, even Lubitsch used quite static staging and frontality in *Kohlhiesels Töchter*, mentioned above, as late as 1920. Klercker's preference for a certain degree of frontality particularly in long shots is not unanticipated and is in keeping with the mid-1910s perpendicular staging practices demonstrated in Stiller's *Kärlek och journalistik* (1916) and the fragments now available from his *Hämnaren* from 1915; the somewhat archaic use of frontality during the reunion of Awa and Maj with the old fisherman in *Fyrvaktarens dotter* from 1918 seems more awkward than is usual in his films. The staging in Murnau's later *Der Gang in die Nacht* which was filmed the same year as *Kohlhiesels Töchter* is relatively static, in repeated patterns to and from the camera thus privileging frontality, and is nearly devoid of any diagonal staging. This film also contains a rare use of shallow-depth 'clothesline' staging (Fig. 78), significantly chosen by Murnau for the primary confrontation scene between the three characters involved in the second love triangle. In subsequent films, however, Murnau is more expressive and at times dynamic in his use of depth staging as seen in the relatively fluid staging in *Nosferatu*. The crowd's chase after Knock

following his escape displays particularly dynamic movement, although even this follows horizontal and vertical patterns rather than diagonal.

It is with *Der brennende Acker* that Murnau is even more inventive. The figures create strong diagonal patterns in all directions within and beyond the frame, displaying a dynamic use of space and defining new spatial arrangements. Figures at time abruptly change course, and quite often pass by the camera walking off-screen to the left. As seen earlier in *Schloß Vogelöd*, Murnau also favours both individuals and groups approaching the camera straight-on, then either stopping with a cut to a medium shot as in the instance of the lord of the manor early in the film, or continuing towards the camera with a sudden change of course as in the large group of oil derrick workers which continues to walk off-screen. This frontal depth staging in *Der brennende Acker* extends even to carriages and wagons, as in the horse-drawn wagon with transports Helga's body to the farm, and more dynamically, the arrival of the investors by horse and carriage. This 26-second shot follows the carriages proceeding along a horizontal path to the left, then turning sharply left again to continue their approach directly towards to the camera and thus the viewer (Fig. 51). This unexpected change of direction also occurs in Stiller's *Herr Arnes pengar* in the staging of the procession carrying Elsalill's body (Fig. 79), as well as in Sjöström's *Klostret i Sendomir* as Elga and Dortka descend the stairs, then reverse direction as they proceed towards the camera into another room, albeit less dramatic than the two extremely well-crafted shots above by Murnau and Stiller.

Depth staging in Swedish films made use of blocking and revealing in often quite elaborate staging patterns which create layers of characters. This staging method serves to heighten the viewer's interest and emotion, as seen in Elsa's collapse in Klercker's *Mellan liv och död* with the mother in the foreground, the father occupying middle space, and Elsa in depth, with all characters in the various planes in sharp focus (Fig. 81). This layering is often logically motivated by entrances

and exits either through doorways or outside the frame, with the example in Klercker's film which favours diagonal staging being much more dynamic than that in Oswald's *Der ewige Zweifel* (Fig. 48). Patterns of blocking and revealing are created which are quite uniquely cinematic with compositional alterations exclusively from the camera's point of view. As the majority of staging choices in Germany privilege clear visibility of characters and often frontality, blocking and revealing in staging is not commonly found. This device is, however, used judiciously by Murnau in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. When disguised as an old peasant woman, Lily walks to the sofa placed in depth behind Börne and he blocks her at first, then rises and walks straight back towards her; in the same way that the spectator has lost sight of Lily, so Börne does not 'see' the peasant woman as being Lily. Murnau's further use of the device of blocking and revealing is quite well-executed in *Der brennende Acker* as Maria rises from the farmhouse table, blocking Johannes's entrance with her back towards him but facing the camera, her unease and trepidation clearly visible to the spectator.

3.4 Cinematography

3.4.1 Photographic elements

Consistent with technological standards, the films under consideration generally display sharp focus on nearly all planes and this is indeed evidenced in each of the three films by Murnau analysed in Chapter 4. Both German and Swedish films at this time also exhibit the greatest possible depth of field with the middle and far fields in deep focus, and inserts and rare occasions of close-ups generally displaying shallow depth of field. By the early 1920s, it was quite common when cutting in for a facial expression that the background was blurred as not to distract from the primary image. There is, however, more often than not an inconsistency in backgrounds between the close-ups and the long shots surrounding them. Multiple examples of this practice can be

found, as when Fortinbras first believes that the prince has gone mad in *Hamlet*, with the result that mismatched background focus appears less carefully conceived when compared with the clarity on all planes of Sjöström's close-up of his face at the end of *Körkarlen*.

Very few of the films under consideration maintain any of the colour tinting or toning with which they may have been treated at the time of their release. Tinted copies, for example, were not available of *Der Gang in die Nacht* or *Schloß Vogelöd*, although the quality of the black-and-white resolution is quite high. *Nosferatu* displays a very intricate use of colour to enhance the narrative; the chronicle entries, documents, and pages of a book are green, with amber indicating daylight and interiors, and blue is darkness. The tinting changes quickly from amber to blue corresponding to a gust of wind through a window which extinguishes a candle in Harding's sitting room. The colour tinting in *Der brennende Acker* reveals both amber and blue used in representing daylight with the blue conveying the coldness of the snow and ice as Helga stumbles towards the river to drown herself, colour values which correlate to those used in the icy snow scenes at the end of *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru*. Again in *Der brennende Acker* soft rose-coloured tinting is used for the soirée and the scene at the Alte Rog's deathbed, with the climatic explosion of the Teufelsacker tinted red; Eisner mentions that contemporary prints of *Scherben* were tinted red for the railway worker's confession of murder, however, the available copy used in this analysis is non-tinted.[70] Colour in *Körkarlen* is used most effectively in portraying the amber warmth of the Salvation Army mission and the cold, blue depths of the sea. This colour scheme of using amber to relay warm interiors was commonplace and can be found in interiors as disparate as the elegant salon in *Erotikon* and the heat of the filthy witches's den in *Häxan*. As regards Swedish films, tinting was much rarer than in Germany and in addition to the above-mentioned examples, Stiller's *Alexander den Store* and *Sången om den*

eldröda Blomman are considered the only examples of tinting during this period.

One of the hallmarks of *Nosferatu* is the display of various expressive photographic devices to create unease and emphasise the vampire's supernatural powers. The device of stop-motion was regularly used to display text which appears on surfaces, but Murnau uses it in order to depict the frantic piling of coffins which Hutter views from his window, and the hatch on the ship. Christensen's *Häxan* includes a stop-motion sequence of various magical tricks such as the self-moving pile of coins (Fig. 81), and Lang used this technique at the beginning of *Siegfried* to visualise the hero's sword delicately cutting a falling feather (Fig. 82). Unique to Murnau, however, is the use in *Nosferatu* of the negative film forest which creates a reversed effect with the shadows becoming pale and darkened areas appearing light (Fig. 83), although his undercranking to convey the accelerated motion of the Count's carriage was an often-used device in comedy films.

Superimposition is a common device long used in depicting apparitions and spectres. Klercker's use in *Mellan liv och död* of the appearance of the poisoned Elsa in Dr Brinck's room is conventional, as is the doll's appearance at the window during Lancelot's dream in Lubitsch's *Die Puppe*, whereas the nightmare sequence in Wiene's *Raskolnikow* (1923) and the Jack the Ripper episode of Leni's *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett* (1924) are expressionistic and disoriented. In Sjöström's *Körkarlen*, the driver who collects the bodies of the deceased is himself a dead man for whom no barrier is impenetrable. The particularly well-executed double exposure of David Holm's soul rising from his body (Fig. 84) was quite possibly mimicked by Lubitsch the following year in *Die Bergkatze*, with Pola Negri's humorous character Rischka similarly taking leave of her body as she sleeps to join the prince she fancies (Fig. 85). The devil in *Häxan* also has the power to draw a character's soul from her body, with Christensen using this device to create a deciding comically sinister image. Regarding Murnau's

Phantom, Lotte Eisner mentions a review in the *Roland von Berlin* from 23 November 1922 which refers to the superimposed image of the carriage with the white horse which keeps appearing, as in Victor Sjöström's *Körkarlen.*[71] One also finds in Murnau's *Phantom* that Veronika drives her carriage across the frame, or a corner of it, superimposed, whenever Lorenz feels his life sinking lower and lower, therefore the function of the superimpositions is not to represent a ghostly apparition, but rather to act as of visualisation of both the protagonist's intense longing and emotional turmoil. The depiction of the Doppelgänger in films was rendered in German films using this device, an early example being Paul Wegener's dual roles in *Der Student von Prag*. Henny Porten also portrayed dual characters in Lubitsch's comedy *Kohlhiesels Töchter* as well as in the film *Wehe, wenn sie losgelassen*. Lubitsch also used superimposition to depict dream images in *Die Puppe*, a function later used by Pabst in representing through the use of superimposition the multiple images of Werner Krauss's dream sequence in *Geheimnisse einer Seele* to create a dramatic montage sequence (Fig. 19). The use of the montage sequence to demonstrate visually the male protagonist's longings and desires for the stimulation of the city is present in Grune's *Die Straße* (Fig. 86) in a quite elaborate depiction of the city's various attractions which heightens the husband's senses to such an emotional degree as to disregard all rational behaviour; this sequence bears remarkable similarities to Murnau's later montage sequence in *Sunrise*, not only visually but in its function as a lure and promise of escape for the husband from his domestic boredom.

In *Nosferatu* superimposition is used to project the vampire's ability to appear, disappear, and penetrate solid objects. He is seen entering his new house, the wooden door creating no obstruction as the vampire passes through the solid door. The superimposed image of Nosferatu sitting on coffins in the ship's hold immediately follows the cloud of smoke emanating from the captain's pipe; this could serve as

foreshadowing the vampire's annihilation at sunrise in which he vanishes in a puff of smoke. Eisner also mentions Murnau's earlier use of dense tobacco smoke and steam from the Russian tea urn in the third episode of the non-extant *Satanas* to create delicate lighting effects.[72] Although the manner in which this device functioned is not known at present, Murnau's trick shots are nearly always expressive of a character's subjective state, unlike Fritz Lang's use of tricks as 'attractions' in, for example, the Chinese episode in *Der müde Tod* and the dizzying special effects in the *Nibelungen* films.

Split-screen imagery was very rare in Swedish and German cinema and is not present in Murnau's extant films nor mentioned in literature regarding his non-extant films. This device is used as an alternative to cross-cutting and functions in Klercker's *Fången på Karlstens fästning* from 1916 to convey a telephone conversation, even to the extent of showing a telephone line over houses in the middle frame of a triptych which divides the callers in the two independent rooms (Fig. 87). This striking effect is not used by Sjöström, who achieves simpler effects in the studio to convey Anton's ability to overhear a smuggling being planned in *Havsgamar* by using a wall to divide the frame, with Anton's ear pressed to the left side of the wall as he listens to his father and brother discussing their criminal plans on the right (Fig. 88). Kristin Thompson mentions an intricate German example of split-screen imagery in Paul Wegener's *Der verlorene Schatten* (1921), in which a young couple displayed in the upper-right corner of the frame relates events which are then fade in and out of three other sections of the frame.[73] Lubitsch's use of the split-screen with hard-edged masks to convey humour in *Die Austernprinzessin* and *Die Puppe*, both from 1919, displays repetitive images of dancing feet and chattering mouths respectively.

3.4.2 Framing

The question of framing addresses the various issues of spatial qualities and composition. In general, the careful, painterly compositions so common in these films is indicative of the importance given by these directors to the qualities of mise en scène, with less regard given to heightening narrative action, although Stiller in particular was adept at creating the startling images in *Sången om den eldröda Blomman* and *Johan* which combine dramatic movement with pictorialism. The Swedish cinema as a whole is seen to privilege pictorialist compositions of great complexity which are achieved with deep-focus photography, and Klercker's innate ability to create consistently such remarkable compositions displays his mastery of pictorial concepts. Examples of pictorialism in German film are also present, and in addition to Murnau, the directors Lupu Pick and Arthur von Gerlach can be considered pictorialists, with the latter's *Zur Chronik von Grieshuus* containing pastoral shots of exquisite quality filmed on location in Lüneberger Heide. Compositions in Pick's *Scherben* which deserve mention include the railway worker transporting his wife's body through the snow-covered landscape towards the church, and the final shot of the daughter positioned on the cliff far above the railway tracks.

With Murnau one finds a strong emphasis on composition and pictorial arrangement within the frame, with relatively less attention to narrative issues. Murnau's interior framing choices as in *Der Gang in die Nacht* demonstrate repeated set-ups and at times diagonally angled set-ups with a table or desk anchoring the foreground space with staging taking place between front and back fields. This is found again in *Der brennende Acker* with the imposing fireplace at the villa also functioning as an anchor around which various staging patterns revolve. The door at the back of the farmhouse's main room also encourages great depth, with the long table usually framed to emphasise elongation, an

indication of Murnau's early preference for the foreshortening he later used in *Tartüff* and *Faust*.

In regards to shot scale, Murnau shot scenes quite far back with few close-ups. Shot scales in his films are primarily long shot and medium long shot, which is also in keeping with the standard practice in Germany at that time. Certain German films, however, display the use of close-ups quite often, particularly in the films directed by Lubitsch as part of the shot breakdown in keeping with his common use of analytical editing. Swedish shot scales were composed primarily of long shots, followed with medium long shots when considered necessary. Close-ups were rare, and found mostly in Stiller's films. In *Nosferatu*, shot scales are primarily long shots, with some medium shots and very few close-ups, these being the insert shots of the Venus fly-trap and the polyp during Professor Bulwer's lecture; a very similar use of close-ups appears in *Häxan* with the documentary-like presentation of the tongs and thumb-screw as instruments of torture. Extreme long shots were chosen in *Der brennende Acker* to emphasise the isolation of the building which encloses the entrance to the oil source in contrast to the immense expanse of natural surroundings. There is also use of starkly contrasting shot scales in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, such as the extreme long shot of Lily on stage (Fig. 89) followed by a close-up of Börne in the audience, with very few medium shots chosen; as regards shot scales as well as general set design and placement, this scene displays quite striking similarities with the cabaret scene in Klercker's *Kärleken segrar* (Fig. 90).

In German films, extreme angle framings were found but rarely, as for example the instances in *Die Straße*. High- and low-angle shots were used in German film as distance point-of-view shots, as in *Der brennende Acker*, but in the 1920s unmotivated angle shots were used and from a reduced distance, with extreme angles becoming more common. *Nosferatu* contains more angle shots than are typical for an early Murnau film. Numerous low-angle shots are found which are

motivated by the position of the castle high on the hill as well as the ship's tall mast. Striking high-angle shots are seen from atop the cliff as the raft with coffins follows the river. Even more memorable are the high-angle shots from Ellen's window onto the street below, first with the drumming messenger and later the procession of coffins. Nosferatu takes over the Empusa, shown deserted, with the lack of human life on the ship emphasised by oblique camera angles. Stiller's films also contain instances of expressive camera angles, with Sjöström and Brunius preferring more conventional framings. Klercker in particular has rare changes in camera angle, with set-ups being frequently repeated; although Klercker is responsible for such spectacular shots as the chase atop the roofs of Gothenburg, these shots are generally not angle shots but are taken from a level field.

Masks are ubiquitous in German films and usually have rather crisp edges and are found to be by far the most elaborate and decorative in the films of Lubitsch. The hard-edged masks in *Die Bergkatze* from 1921, for example, display cut-out shapes of various ovals, rectangles, and hexagons which are very unique and whimsical (Fig. 16). These masks can reflect both graphically and diegetically on the pro-filmic event, such as the lip-shaped mask which encloses a kissing scene. Nothing of the kind can be found in either the Swedish cinema or in the work of Murnau; his inventive use of masks can, however, be seen in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, which uses an irregularly torn oval-shaped mask to represent the gap in the stage curtains through which Lily peeks at the audience (Fig. 91). Sjöström chose arched masks for the entire frame story in *Klostret i Sendomir* as well as its primary story to depict, for example, the arrival of Elga; the function is therefore not to differentiate between the frame and primary story, and could simply be a graphic method of emphasing the arches of the castle setting (Fig. 92). Sjöström favoured crisp-edged masks, although in his final Swedish silent film *Eld ombord* from 1923 a very lightly smudged oval mask, presumably created with smeared vaseline, appears in many of the shots.

Round masks are used in *Nosferatu* to isolate Ellen's face, creating a similarity to the oval portrait in the locket which Hutter carries with him. Of the Swedish films examined here, it is Hedqvist's *Dunungen* which demonstrates most explicitly the portrait as a symbol of duplicity for the absent individual, discussed above in Section 3.3.1.3; in both *Nosferatu* and *Dunungen* the portrait also functions similarly in evoking longing and desire in the beholder. Masks are also used to frame the many facial medium close-up shots in *Der brennende Acker*, particularly those which emphasise introspective moods; on two occasions a perturbed female character abandons the masked framing when experiencing jealous emotions, leaving the masked space empty. Not only are black circular and oval masks used in this film, but also the isolation of desired frame content naturally created in the film's diegesis by winter's frost patterns on both the villa and farmhouse windows (Figs. 93, 94). Irises generally display rather crisp edges and are found extensively in Murnau's early films, which falls in line with common German and Swedish practices during these years. Lupu Pick's ubiquitous use in *Scherben* of irises shaped as diamonds, rectangles, and other diverse patterns succeeds in directing the viewer's eye by intricately conforming to the staging choices which emphasis particular elements; this highly sophisticated and expressive use of the iris is rare in the corpus of films analysed.

Murnau's early use of mobile framing demonstrates little of the sophistication revealed in the *entfesselte Kamera* in *Der letzte Mann* in 1924 which he and Karl Freund are considered to have pioneered, with the exception of the revolving camera signifying the character's point of view in *Phantom* which he had directed two years earlier (Fig. 95); this instance is distinct in its striking likeness to the corresponding scene of the revolving camera in Grune's *Die Straße* (Fig. 96). There are subtle instances of reframing in *Der Gang in die Nacht* and a rather unexpected panning shot inside the house when Börne surprises Lily which are exceptions in an otherwise statically shot film. Freund's innovations in

stringing the camera on a line as well as attaching it to himself for the shots in *Der letzte Mann* are well-known, as is his achievement in rendering the spinning world of the doorman's drunken dream, a sequence again markedly similar to the character's disorientation in *Die Straße* (Fig. 97). An earlier, unique case of the subjective use of camera movement which is not a point-of-view shot appears in the Swedish director Ivan Hedqvist's *Dunungen* from 1919 in which the camera rocks back and forth in order to reflect the state of intoxication of the on-screen character (Figs. 7, 8). It is with Dupont's *Varieté* in 1925 that the mobile camera is particular prominent, allowing the viewer greater affinity with the circus entertainers who are attached to a swinging trapeze. According to Eisner, Fritz Lang disliked flamboyant camera work, and strove to achieve an authentic and spontaneous presentation of the narrative, even to the extent of attempting to create documentary-like reality.[74] Murnau was more experimental in using the camera as an expressive tool, however, the restraint shown in his early films is indicative of his preference for the generally subdued style found in mature works such as *City Girl* (1929) which contains a judicious and poetic use of panning shots. There is, for example, very little mobile framing in *Nosferatu*, which is limited to occasional reframing, the two panning shots of the mountains, and later the appearance of the Empusa which is shot from another boat.

Other examples of cameras being mounted on boats are found in Rune Carlsten's *Robinson i skärgården*. In this instance, the on-board camera films the sailboat's quickly changing direction, with the camera leaning along with the laughing young people; the sailboat's rapid manoeuvres make the audience feel nearly as seasick as the heavy-set character Agathon. Sjöström's *Havsgamar* from 1916 displays an early use of mobile framing with the camera placed in both the smuggler's boat and the boat of the customs official. Common modes of transport for cameras other than boats are both horses and horse-drawn carriages, with four examples being found in *Der brennende Acker* alone.

Georg af Klercker preferred very limited camera movement, although he had a penchant for using the mobile camera in boat sequences. Sjöström's films also indicate little movement, with Stiller's films displaying by far the most camera movement, as in the early escape sequence in *Herr Arnes pengar*. In addition, parallel tracking shots which are quite rare in the Swedish cinema are found in German films, with an example of Murnau's limited early use visible in *Der brennende Acker* in the shot of the investors discovering the burning of the petroleum reserves. Of the tracking shots which are so prevalent in Lupu Pick's *Sylvester* (1923), there are interestingly few corresponding early examples by Murnau, although his later use of this device in several significant shots in *Sunrise* would be greatly celebrated.

Intrusion into the frame draws attention to the framing issues of off-screen space. A very common motivation for this device is the forward movement of boats, but this is not its exclusive use. In *Der Gang in die Nacht* there is a cut from long shot to medium close-up of Lily's hand offering sugar to Börne (Fig. 98), the intrusion into the frame intensifying the seductiveness of the scene; this function also occurs in Pick's *Scherben* as the inspector's shiny boots appear at the top of the frame and remain centred as he slowly descends the stairs being scrubbed by the young daughter. Murnau uses hands as elements of suspense when entering the frame from off-screen space in *Tartüff*, as well as the two instances in *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* when snatching the letter from the sleeping Grand Duke (Fig. 99); the tension created with this device was used later both diegetically and symbolically by Wiene as the pianist's 'dismembered' hand slowly enters the frame seemingly of its own free will to grab the knife found in the door (Fig. 100). Several examples of the numerous boats which figure in this device are the English boat in *Terje Vigen* (Fig. 101) and the unexpected boat-like floating log which dramatically causes the death of Stor-Ingmar in *Karin Ingmarssdotter* (Fig. 102). These create increased tension and suspense, as in the sense of foreboding achieved in

Nosferatu as the Empusa enters the harbour and later the vampire's rowboat appears into the shot of deserted buildings, the fearful appearance repeated again with Heri's boat in *Tabu*. Intrusion does not necessarily imply anxiousness, as seen in Rune Carlsten's amusing comedy *Robinson i skärgården*; here the sailboat appears not as a forbidding entity, but rather the expression of a joyous outing on a bright summer's day. Intrusion into the frame tends to indicate the element of unexpectedness and surprise not present in fluid match-on-action shots as, for example, in Lang's *Siegfried* in which Hagen's casting of the spear is followed by the spear finding its target (Fig. 103).

The use of the mirror as a device to display off-screen space is not found in Murnau's early extant films; the reflection of space as the vampire crouches over Ellen is clearly delineated in the establishing shot. This device in general is seldom found in German films, however, the Swedish cinema offers numerous, often cleverly executed, examples. Klercker's *Kärleken segrar* is notable for a scene at the beginning of Act 4 in which the device of the mirror is used to articulate off-screen space. A large mirror on the wardrobe reflects another room in the space behind the camera (Fig. 104), an important innovation in mise en scène which John Fullerton has attributed to the introduction of the Danish films of Frans Lundberg.[75] Sjöström makes use of the same function in *Hans Nåds testamente* (1919) in a scene involving His Lordship and the butler Vicksburg. They both look at the aristocrat's reflection, followed by a tighter shot which excludes the frame and shows the adjacent room behind the camera. There is then a reverse shot in which the men's positions are switched, followed by the image in the mirror which reveals the two men walking behind the camera with His Lordship sitting down at his desk in the adjacent room with his butler at his side. Less elaborate is Brunius's use of space delineated by the large oval mirror in *Gyurkovicsarna* (Fig. 106). Klercker again used a full-length mirror in *Mysteriet natten till den 25:e* which was placed on the door to reveal the entrance of the thieves (Fig. 105). That a mirror can be used for the

staging of action reveals its function as a device which allows that spatial integrity is preserved. This is well represented in Sjöström's *Vem dömer?* in the climatic scene in which the husband realises his wife's intention to poison him (Fig. 107). Sjöström's perhaps most poetic use of the reflection is found in *Ingmarssönerna* in which an establishing shot of Ingmar alone at the lakeshore slowly tilts down to reveal the unexpected arrival of Brita behind him, with the lake's reflection creating an exquisite portrait of their deepening bond (Fig. 108). The numerous functions of reflective devices used in conjunction with the long take were issues of primary interest to both the Swedish directors and Murnau in that the elements of mise en scène and space within the frame are privileged in contrast to the use of reverse-angle cutting, although Lubitsch uses the mirror in conjunction with faster cutting in *Madame Dubarry* (1919) in a humorous interaction with Pola Negri peering over the screen (Fig. 109).

3.4.3 Shot duration

The attention given to the length of individual shots has greatly increased since the introduction of Barry Salt's statistical approach of average shot length (ASL) as a determinant factor in making stylistic assessments.[76] The average shot length of each film is determined by its entire length excluding credits divided by the number of shots including intertitles. The quite mechanical process allows, according to Salt, stylistic evaluations to be made for various directors based on their varied cutting rates. This in turn provides within a comparative framework some indication as to a particular director's predilection either for building scenes through staging choices within the long take, or for faster editing-based scene dissection. Certainly this particular analytical approach has limitations which do not address stylistic preferences as a whole, with the narrow focus on average shot lengths, shot scales, and use of reverse angles merely providing generalisations

within a comparative context, with little regard for the various functions of stylistic elements.

In contrast to Hollywood films, both the Swedish and German cinemas display a preference for mise en scène concerns and depth staging, which in turn privileges the long take rather than rapid editing. Sjöström in particular shows a preference for lingering shots of magnificent landscape as well as the lingering close-up of David Holm at the end of *Körkarlen*. The relatively long takes allow for the combination of slower narrative pace and slow acting gestures. *Der Gang in die Nacht* contains several very lengthy long takes in which the camera remains stationary and the staging is limited spatially. The longest take which lasts two-and-a-half minutes in quite effective in conveying Börne's intense anguish with limited staging and retrained gestures; the extended length creates an increased intensity which could not be achieved through cutting; this effective stylistic device is certainly not evident when averaged shot lengths are solely taken into account.

There are relatively few long takes in the films of Fritz Lang, with even fewer to be found amongst Lubitsch's films. There is shorter shot duration in *Nosferatu* than is found in both *Der Gang in die Nacht* and *Schloß Vogelöd*, with no extreme long takes of the type seen in *Der Gang in die Nacht.* There are notable long takes in *Der brennende Acker*, with a particularly striking 26-second shot of the arrival of the investors by horse and carriage in which the carriages are seen arriving through the deep snow from right to left, then unexpectedly turn a sharp 90 degrees to continue their approach directly towards the camera. This same film also contains a long take of 40 seconds which displays an elaborate play of articulated deep space as the group of investors converse together in various, ever-changing groupings while waiting to be joined by Johannes.

3.5 Editing

When analysing various films produced by different countries, it is often the case that diverse choices are most prominently displayed in the editing techniques. It may be put forth for purposes of discussion that two strategies for conveying narrative content took precedence during the 1910s and early 1920s: an independent shot displaying composition-based pictorialism and the breakdown of spatial integrity through analytical editing. When placed in comparative context with American films, the majority of the German and Swedish films being considered here place relatively little emphasis on editing practices such as analytical editing, shot/reverse-angle shot constructions and point-of-view shots. It is generally agreed that pictorialism was preferred in the European cinema which accounts for a lesser degree of scene dissection. Analytical editing has long been considered by many to be more inherently cinematic, especially the closer it adheres to Hollywood classical editing patterns, however, this view has recently been re-examined in view of the increasing amount of interest and research in the earlier pictorialist tradition.[77]

Murnau's incorporation of pictorial traditions is evident when compared with the editing choices made by certain German directors at that time, as found, for example, in the very rapid cutting in Fritz Lang's *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* and the fast cutting and well-executed sightlines in Wegener and Boese's *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam*. Lubitsch used faster cutting and parallel editing to an even greater extent in his films, with the additional incorporation of shot/reverse-angle shots which function primarily as point-of-view shots. In general, however, German films favoured longer scenes with restrained cutting, which contributed to the reputation of German films for being slow, psychological, and subjective, though not necessarily pictorial. Both Murnau's films and the Swedish cinema are noted for pictorialism, although by the late 1910s, analytical editing began to be used more often in Swedish film. Sjöström's *Tösen från Stormyrtorpet* from 1917 is

an early example of an average shot length of only 6 seconds and demonstrates an early use of rapid cutting and analytical editing. Of the Swedish directors considered here, it is Stiller who shows the most consistent preference for faster editing and pace. Although appreciation and admiration does not necessarily suggest shared stylistic sensibilities, it is interesting that Murnau's statements with regard to Swedish film single out Stiller for exceptional praise, rather than the more pictorially-based techniques chosen particularly by Sjöström and Klercker. In addition, Stiller's films display editing patterns which use contrasting shots which increase the tempo, while editing in Sjöström's films is quite inconspicuous.

It must be remembered, however, that priority was given to the organisation of pro-filmic space throughout this era. Murnau's early style demonstrates a preference for editing which functions to connect shots which are in themselves quite self-contained, therefore minimising interactive relations between shots. This lack of scene dissection in the early 1920s is quite consistent with standard practices in the 1910s in which shots were separated by intertitles, making the technically more difficult match-on-action shots, sight lines, and eyeline matches unnecessary. This results in the slower rhythm and tempo which is characteristic of his films made during the years under consideration. It is notable, however, that whereas cut-ins during the 1910s were most commonly a closer framing of the establishing shot from the same angle, there is evidence in Murnau's early films of greater laxity, and with it the numerous examples of incongruous dissection discussed below. Match-on-action shots were successfully achieved by Sjöström in *Klostret i Sendomir* as the count and priest run from room to room, and the match-on-action shots of the dog running towards Elga and Dortka. Lang's command of match-on-action shots and editing practices in general is evident in *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* and the *Nibelungen* films in particular. This device was a preferred device of Pabst with his skill apparent in *Die freudlose Gasse*, but match-on-action shots are not

commonly found in Murnau's films and those that are present are not always smoothly rendered. For example, in *Nosferatu* one finds a successful example as Hutter runs towards the breakfast buffet on the table, with a decidedly mismatched shot later as he scurries backwards in horror from the sleeping vampire and crawls awkwardly up the stairs. Although use of analytical editing practices occurs infrequently in Murnau's early films, as for example in Hutter's first appearance in *Nosferatu* in medium shot, Murnau did increasingly adhere to classical analytical editing in his use of an establishing shot. One or more closer shots usually serve to establish the identity or psychological state of the person in the establishing shot, as in Lily's view of Börne in the audience in *Der brennende Acker*, with the sequence concluding with a final re-establishing shot.

In contrast to American practices, the use of reverse-angle cutting in European films was generally not common at this time and usually functioned as point-of-view shots. Sjöström's *Havsgamar* from 1916 does, however, contain a rather early example of an alternate function in shot/reverse-shot cutting, which depicts the smugglers' hideaway from both inside and outside. Reverse-angle cutting in Swedish films began to appear more regularly in the late 1910s, with the device increasingly chosen to depict character subjectivity in addition to point-of-view editing. Indeed, the use of point-of-view editing in Swedish film also increased in frequency by the late 1910s and had already been used to great effect in Stiller's two *Thomas Graal* comedies. Numerous point-of-view shots are found in *Nosferatu* with the most celebrated being through the window with the visible glazing-bar from which Ellen views the procession of coffins. Point-of-view shots with masks is a convention which takes many forms, as in the telescope in Sjöström's *Terje Vigen*, the elegant binoculars in Stiller's *Erotikon*, and the key-hole in Klercker's *Fyrvaktarens dotter*. Lubitsch's *Die Bergkatze*, with its dizzying array of creative masks, also uses binocular and key-hole masks in indicating point-of-view shots. Murnau's use of the torn oval

mask in *Der Gang in die Nacht* is a motivated mask signifying the peep-hole created by Lily as she discretely parts the stage curtains to look at the audience (Fig. 91). Her next view is nearly full-frame with a very soft round mask, and her third view of Börne is a full-frame point-of-view close-up shot. This device is also used to indicate imaginary views, such as Lellewel's arrival by Gerda and Johannes's view of an enormous petroleum plant in *Der brennende Acker*.

As mentioned in Section 2.3.2, an infrequent use of shot/reverse-angle shot in present in Murnau's films, with a near exclusion of the reaction shots more typically found Lubitsch's films such as *Sumurun*, which display a preferred use of shot/reverse-angle shot as well as point-of-view and cross-cutting. Sightline and eyeline matches which maintain screen direction in reverse-angle cutting are not common in Murnau's early films, although there is a well-executed eyeline match at the end of Act 2 in *Der Gang in die Nacht* between the Painter and Lily, establishing their mutual attraction to one another. Although mismatching exists in *Der brennende Acker* which is mentioned below, Murnau's subtle use of the eyeline match in the exchange from Peter to Johannes after Maria blocks Johannes's entrance, and between Gerda, Helga, and Lellewel in Act 2, is executed with the same precision found in Sjöström's *Ingmarssönerna*, with the eyeline matching as Brita and her parents move around the table in the marriage announcement scene receiving notable scholarly attention in recent years.[78] Although *Nosferatu* contains several mismatched sightlines, it also offers the intriguing eyeline match across different spatial planes as Ellen cries out and extends her arms towards the left of the frame, followed by a correct eyeline match to the vampire who has turned towards her, seemingly in response. Another earlier violation of realistic spatial boundaries suggested by editing is Hutter's view from his window at the inn; the inclusion of shots of the werewolf, the frightened horses, and the peasant women in the inn covering their ears are placed in accordance with standard point-of-view cutting. Rather than the

seemingly shared longing in the first example, this example's improbability seems to indicate a relationship more evocative of shared apprehension and fear below the surface.

Editing used to indicate a particular association between characters is found in Murnau's *Der Gang in die Nacht*, which ties Lily and Helene together with regards to their relationship with Börne; Lily watches Börne from the window as he leaves her hotel, which is followed by a jarring cut to Helene at her door greeting Börne as he enters. Even more strikingly, shared 'mirrored' angles are present in *Nosferatu* which appear to have no German or Swedish equivalents; deftly matched angles of approaching entities are edited together to create the intersecting courses. These occur on several occasions to foreshadow an encounter, most noticeably in the simultaneous arrival of Hutter, approaching from left to right (Fig. 110), and the vampire's identically reflected angle from right to left (Fig. 36). More subtle examples can also be seen twice in Ellen's shared movement with the ship Empusa; her hasty departure from Harding's house at a diagonal angle towards the right of the frame is followed by the perfectly reversed angle of the Empusa's persistent cutting through the waves towards the left, with this collision course a foreshadowing of their predestined meeting.

Cross-cutting as a device to show parallel actions taking place simultaneously, commonly resulting in increased suspense, is certainly less common in German and Swedish cinema than is found in Hollywood films. Examples within the corpus of analysed films are present, however, with the device being used to create suspense and draw parallels between characters. In Klercker's *Fyrvaktarens dotter* from 1918, for example, Awa's search by rowboat for her daughter Maj is cross-cut with the search on land by her husband Frank and Lilian. Amongst the most well-known of Murnau's editing patterns is the abstracted cross-cutting which occurs two-thirds through *Nosferatu*. The parallelism which follows the adversarial joint travels of Hutter and the vampire establishes not only a rhythmical pattern but also results in

increased uncertainty and suspense. In comparison, Fritz Lang's films such as *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* display a less poetic but more complicated use of cross-cutting. Cross-cutting can also serve to strengthen associations between characters, with examples being found in *Der Gang in die Nacht* during the storm sequence which tie Lily together to the Painter; curiously, strongly contrasting scenes of Lily's frenzied dancing and the still, recuperating patient are used which actually heighten their connection. The choice of cross-cutting in *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* between the initial creation of the Golem and the flirtatious love scenes of Florian and Mirjam creates unease as to the Golem's possible role in the lovers' relationship; this connection is later repeated and thus strengthened as the reviving of the Golem's power by a rebuffed, jealous suitor is cross-cut with the lovers' consummation in Mirjam's bedroom, with suspense as to a possible tragedy being further heightened. Strong parallelism is also an important element of the framework of *Der brennende Acker* in the incessant contrasting of the inhabitants of the farmhouse with those of the villa. In this particular case, parallelism also functions to indicate both a quickened and retarded pace and rhythm in Act 6, climaxing in the fiery explosion of the petroleum reserves. Carl Th. Dreyer also uses parallelism early in *Prästänken* (1920) in order to call the viewer's attention to the scene's duration, with Söfren's consciousness of his worn clothing and unrefined appearance emphasised even further.

Inserts which show isolated inanimate objects and parts of the body such as hands, and do not contain text, are described by Barry Salt as 'atmospheric' inserts.[79] The purpose is usually to cut-in to a detail which could not be adequately understood in long shot, and is not so uncommon as to warrant great attention. Wegener's choice in *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* to have Rabbi Löw disclose the secret of the Golem's power to the audience in a long take is unusually striking; the rabbi slowly approaches the camera and carefully tucks the magic word under the star, then retreats into a long shot again. Inserted shots

can also depict unpopulated buildings or scenery which are used for expressive purposes to indicate various psychological and emotional traits of the characters; the railway tracks in Pick's *Scherben*, the isolated urban streets in Grune's *Die Straße*, and the tranquil lake view at the dénouement of *Schloß Vogelöd* are examples of this device, which have a more subjective function than the shots of the Carpathian mountains in *Nosferatu*.

Elliptical editing is used effectively in *Nosferatu* in the vampire's attack of the captain of the Empusa. One sees the captain's incredulous expression which is then followed by an intertitle indicating that a change of authority has taken place. In *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam*, human characters are seen racing up the conch-like stairway, but the well-edited scene indicates the Golem's pursuit without showing his presumably awkward, if impossible, ascent; as the Golem is incapable of quick movement, the use of elliptical editing is used throughout in conjunction with his walking motions. Dissolves are perhaps the most common method of creating an ellipsis, however, and are found in German and particularly Swedish films and those of Murnau, functioning to denote both parallel actions and flashbacks. Murnau, however, additionally uses two unobtrusive dissolves in *Der Gang in die Nacht* in an expressive way to signify Börne's diverted attention and emotional confusion, and is a unique instance of this function amongst the corpus of films included in this investigation.

Discontinuity editing tends to occur quite often in the films under consideration and is most apparent in the frequent cuts crossing the 180° line, or axis of action. Swedish film displays frequent cuts across the axis of action, found in Klercker's *Nattens barn* (1916) and Sjöström's *Tösen från Stormyrtorpet* (1917), *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* (1918), and *Eld ombord* (Figs. 111, 77), with *Körkarlen* (1920) having as many as eighteen.[80] In Murnau's films, one finds numerous examples which violate screen direction, as in the early exchange of the young man and his grandfather in the frame story in *Tartüff*. Other instances

in *Nosferatu* occur most obviously as Harding and his sister deliver Hutter's telegram to Ellen sitting at the seaside, followed by a cut to Ellen facing right. The scene in Knock's cell with Sievers and the attendant not only crosses the 180° line but also displays an incorrect eyeline match, a combination also found in Pick's *Scherben* during the confrontation scene which takes place between the father and daughter, as well as in Sjöström's *Mästerman* on two occasions with the young girl behind the desk, first with Mäster Eneman in Act 1 and later with Tora in Act 2. Murnau's *Der brennende Acker* contains Gerda's inconsistent sightline on the stairs and numerous instances of crossing the 180° line, the shot of Gerda on horseback facing left with Johannes positioned to her right being perhaps the most obvious (Figs. 112, 113). Likewise, in the same film Maria's dog moves from her right to her left side, then back to her right (Figs. 114, 115). A disconcerting violation of screen direction occurs towards the end of the film when Maria arrives at the tree from the left and sees Johannes (Fig. 116); the jarring cut to her approach towards Johannes from the right to the left (Fig. 117) seems to anticipate the sort of fragmented spatial integrity which Murnau would later achieve so exquisitely in *Sunrise*, using one long and fluid take to reveal the husband's clandestine meeting with the Woman of the City.

Notes to Chapter 3

[1] The mention in this review of Hans Richter as the set designer of *Der Gang in die Nacht* is incorrect; it was Heinrich Richter who worked as designer on this film.
[2] Willy Haas, 'Wie ich Murnau kennenlernte' in *Film-Kurier*, Nr. 228, 28 September 1925.
[3] Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947, p. 78.
[4] Kracauer p. 102, see footnote.
[5] Kracauer, 148.
[6] André Bazin, *What is Cinema?,* Vol. 1, Hugh Gray (ed.), Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967, p. 27. Published originally in French in four volumes as *Qu'est-ce que le cinéma?*, Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1958-1965.
[7] Lotte H. Eisner, *Murnau*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973; first published as *F.W. Murnau*, Paris: Le Terrain Vague, 1964.
[8] Lotte H. Eisner, *The Haunted Screen*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973; first published as *L'Ecran Démoniaque* in 1952, revised Paris: Le Terrain Vague, 1965; expanded German translation *Die dämonische Leinwand*, Frankfurt: Kommunales Kino, 1975.
[9] Eisner, *The Haunted Screen*, pp. 99-104
[10] Eisner, *The Haunted Screen*, p. 98 and in *Murnau*, p. 78
[11] For references to foregrounded images, see Eisner's *Murnau*, pp. 77-78, 174.
[12] Eisner, *Murnau*, p. 137.
[13] George A. Huaco, *The Sociology of Film Art*, New York and London: Basic Books, 1965.
[14] Kenneth Macgowan, *Behind the Screen: The History and Techniques of the Motion Picture*, New York: Dell, 1965, pp. 224-225.
[15] Brian Henderson, 'The Long Take', *Film Comment*, Vol. 7, Summer 1971, p. 8.
[16] Henderson, p. 8.
[17] Andrew Tudor, *Image and Influence: Studies in the Sociology of Film*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974, p. 162.
[18] Paul Monaco, *Cinema and Society. France and Germany During the Twenties*, New York: Elsevier, 1976, pp. 128-130. (Based on the author's academic thesis, Brandeis University, 1973).
[19] Jean-André Fieschi, 'F.W. Murnau' in *Cinema: A Critical Dictionary*, Richard Roud (ed.), New York: Viking Press, 1980, p. 704.
[20] Fieschi, p. 706.
[21] Fieschi, p. 709.
[22] Fieschi, pp. 707-708.
[23] Klaus Becker (ed.), *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. Ein großer Filmregisseur der Zwanziger Jahre*, Kassel: Stadtsparkasse, 1981, p. 56.
[24] Thomas Elsaesser, 'Film History and Visual Pleasure: Weimar Cinema' in *Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices*, Mellencamp and Rosen (eds.), Los Angeles: The American Film Institute, 1984, p. 79.
[25] Thomas Elsaesser, 'Secret Affinities', *Sight and Sound*, Vol. 58, Nr. 1, Winter 1988/89, p. 38.
[26] Elsaesser, 'Secret Affinities', p. 39.
[27] Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice*, New York: Random House, 1985, pp. 91-104.
[28] Allen and Gomery, p. 103.
[29] David R. Carter, 'Was There Such a Thing as Expressionist Cinema?', in *Expressionism in Focus. Proceedings of the First UEA Symposium on German Studies*, Richard Sheppard (ed.), Oak Villa, New Alyth, Blairgowrie: Lochee, 1987, p. 136.

[30] Frederick W. Ott, *The Great German Films*, Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1986, pp. 64, 66, 73.
[31] Ott, pp. 71-72.
[32] Jo Leslie Collier, *From Wagner to Murnau: The Transposition of Romanticism from Stage to Screen*, Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1988, p. 5.
[33] Collier. For Collier's comments on Murnau's violation of the integrity of the frame, see pp. 135-139.
[34] Collier, p. 138.
[35] Fred Gehler and Ullrich Kasten, *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Augsburg: AV-Verlag Franz Fischer, 1990, pp. 83, 98.
[36] Frieda Grafe, 'Der Mann Murnau' in *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Reihe Film 43, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1990, p. 55.
[37] Grafe, pp. 43-44.
[38] Grafe, p. 49.
[39] Grafe, p. 50.
[40] Enno Patalas, 'Fotodossier "Der Knabe in Blau"' in *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Reihe Film 43, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1990, p. 62.
[41] 'Was denkt Eric Rohmer zu Murnau. Gespräch mit Frieda Grafe und Enno Patalas' in *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Reihe Film 43, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1990, p. 93.
[42] Fritz Göttler, 'Der Gang in die Nacht, 1920' in *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Reihe Film 43, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1990, p. 112.
[43] Göttler, pp. 128-129, 141-142.
[44] See Luciano Berriatúa, *Los proverbios chinos de F.W. Murnau*, Madrid: Filmoteca Española, 1990, p. 15.
[45] See, for example, Berriatúa's pictorial comparisons on pp. 198, 201, 203 and 209.
[46] Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* [1983], London: Starword, 1992, p. 151.
[47] Salt, p. 176.
[48] Louis Delluc, film review 'Cinéma: *Les proscrits*', in *Paris-Midi*, 10 November 1919, p.2. Also cited in Georges Sadoul, *Histoire générale du cinéma – Le cinéma devient un art 1909-1920*, Paris, Denoël, 1952, p. 200. Delluc, in his adulation of Sjöström's *Les proscrits* [*Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru*), declared 'Voici sans doute le plus beau film du monde. Victor Sjöström l'a réalisé avec une ampleur qui dépasse tout commentaire. Il s'y est montré un acteur magistral et humain, ainsi que sa partenaire Edith Erastoff et un troisième interprète singulièrement éloquent: le paysage!'.
[49] See Rune Waldekranz, *Filmens historia*, Stockholm: Zetterlund & Thelanders, 1959, p. 70, and his later, much more extensive two-volume *Filmens historia. De första hundra år*, Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners förlag, Vol. 2, 1985, p. 196 in which he states that *Der Gang in die Nacht* reveals a certain influence of Swedish film.
[50] Eisner, *The Haunted Screen*, p. 105.
[51] Joel Ohlsson's *Att se film*, Lund: Liber Förlag, 1983, p. 34.
[52] Patrick Vonderau, 'Bilder vom Norden. Schwedisch-deutsche Filmbeziehungen 1921-22' in *Die kulturelle Konstruktion von Gemeinschaften. Schweden und Deutschland im Modernisierungsprozeß*, Alexandra Bänsch and Bernd Henningsen (eds.), Baden Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2001. This essay appears earlier in slightly different form in 'Geheime Verwandtschaften? Der „Schwedenfilm" und die Geschichte des Weimarer Kinos', in *Montage/AV*, 9/2/2000.
[53] Bo Florin, *Den nationella stilen*, Stockholm: Aura förlag, 1997, p. 143.
[54] Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After: Germany's Historical Imaginary*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 90.
[55] Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After: Germany's Historical Imaginary*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 103, note 58.
[56] See, for example, the five derogatory references to Thea von Harbou in Lotte Eisner's *The Haunted Screen*, pp. 60, 168, 232-233, 246, and 249.

[57] Oskar Kalbus, *Vom Werden deutscher Filmkunst*, Vol. 1, Altona-Bahrenfeld: Cigaretten-Bilderdienst, 1935, p. 104.
[58] Herbert Spaich, 'Bergwanderungen: Film, Mensch, Gebirge' in *Natur und ihre filmische Auflösung*, Marburg: Timbuktu, 1994, pp. 109-110.
[59] Lotte H. Eisner, *Fritz Lang*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 378 and 23, 28-30.
[60] Technical data regarding shooting locations and dates is found in David Gaertner and Sascha Keilholz's filmography contribution to *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. Ein Melancholiker des Films*, Hans Helmut Prinzler (ed.), Berlin: Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek and Bertz Verlag, 2003, pp. 268-280. Their account is only slightly more comprehensive than that of Wolfgang Jacobsen in *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Reihe Film 43, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1990.
[61] Eisner, *Murnau*, p. 31.
[62] Herbert Spaich, 'Bergwanderungen: Film, Mensch, Gebirge' in *Natur und ihre filmische Auflösung*, Marburg: Timbuktu, 1994, p. 110.
[63] Eisner, *Murnau*, p. 57.
[64] See the commentary on *Terje Vigen* in *Svensk filmografi* I, (ed.) Lars Åhlander, Stockholm: Filminstitutet, 1986, p. 347.
[65] For more details regarding Lubitsch's sets and general stylistic sense, see Kristin Thompson's essay 'The German vs. the American Lubitsch: Set Design in the Silent Features', in *Aura*, vol. 6, 2/2000, pp. 72-89. Thompson's reference to Lubitsch's use of miniatures is found on p. 89, note 16.
[66] Bo Florin, *Den nationella stilen*, Stockholm: Aura förlag, 1997, pp. 129-132.
[67] Ben Brewster and Lea Jacobs, 'Pictorial Styles of Film Acting in Europe in the 1910s', in *Celebrating 1895*: *The Centenary of Cinema*, Sydney: John Libbey, 1998, p. 259.
[68] Ben Brewster and Lea Jacobs, *Theatre to Cinema*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 114-119.
[69] David Bordwell, 'Taking Things to Extremes: Hallucinations Courtesy of Robert Reinert' in *Aura*, vol. 6, 2/2000, pp. 4-19.
[70] Eisner, *The Haunted Screen*, p. 182.
[71] Eisner, *Murnau*, p. 49.
[72] Eisner, *Murnau*, p. 124.
[73] Kristin Thompson, '*Im Anfang war…*: Some Links between German Fantasy Films of the Teens and the Twenties' in *Prima di Caligari. Cinema tedesco, 1895-1920/Before Caligari: German Cinema, 1895-1920*, Paolo Cherchi Usai and Lorenzo Codelli (eds.), Pordenone: Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1990, p. 146.
[74] Eisner, *Fritz Lang*, p. 373.
[75] John Fullerton, *The Development of a System of Representation in Swedish Film, 1912-1920*, diss., p. 219.
[76] Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* [1983], London: Starword, 1992, p. 144-146.
[77] See especially Chapters 6, 7, 9, and 10 in Ben Brewster and Lea Jacobs's *Theatre to Cinema*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
[78] This scene is analysed in detail in Brewster and Jacobs's translated article 'Skådespelarkonsten i *Trädgårdsmästaren* och *Ingmarssönerna*' in *Blågult flimmer: Svenska filmanalyser*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1998, pp. 15-45. David Bordwell also includes this scene as an example of 'delicate reverse angles and eyeline matching' in *On the History of Film Style*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1997, pp. 136-137. See Brewster and Jacobs's *Theatre to Cinema* for similar analysis of editing patterns in the carriage scene later in the film, pp. 133-136.
[79] Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis*, 2nd ed., London: Starword, 1992, pp. 174-175.
[80] Bo Florin, *Den nationella stilen*, Stockholm: Aura förlag, 1997, p. 237.

4.1 *Der Gang in die Nacht*, F.W. Murnau, 1920

Goron-Films, Berlin, Sascha Goron, producer.
A tragedy in five acts, censored length 1927 metres.
Script: Carl Mayer, freely adapted from the Danish filmscript
'The Victor' by Harriet Bloch.
Sets: Heinrich Richter
Camera: Max Lutze

Der Gang in die Nacht was produced by Goron-Films in Berlin and was filmed at the Berlin film studios Zoo-Atelier and Cserépy-Atelier, as well as on the North Friesian island of Sylt. The film's première took place on 21 January 1921 in Berlin at Richard-Oswald-Lichtspiele, with one earlier screening in mid-December 1920 at Berliner Kino Schauburg am Potsdamer Platz.[1] It was scripted by Carl Mayer and based on a film script story by Harriet Bloch, a prolific Danish film scriptwriter who wrote screenplays for forty-nine Danish films, as well as the German film *Tatjana* (Robert Dinesen, 1923) and two other German film drafts, and five Swedish films during the period from 1915 to 1920.[2] Danish collaboration is further seen in the casting of Olaf Fønss and Gudrun Bruun-Steffensen in the two primary roles as Professor Börne and Lily. *Der Gang in die Nacht* was released in Bloch's native Denmark as *Elskovs-Magt* (*The Power of Love*), a title perhaps more attractive to audiences favouring melodrama.

The seventh of Murnau's twenty-one films, *Der Gang in die Nacht* has the distinction of being the earliest of Murnau's known extant films, the second of seven films made in collaboration with scriptwriter Carl Mayer, and the last of five films made with Conrad Veidt.[3] Murnau's first six films of the eight currently missing were filmed during the short period from 1919 to early 1920, and *Der Gang in die Nacht* from August to October 1920. Lotte Eisner relates that it was also considered lost for many years until Henri Langlois from the Cinémathèque Française discovered the film's negative at the Staatliches Filmarchiv in East Berlin.[4] It long remained devoid of intertitles and Lotte Eisner confirmed

their non-existance at the time of her analysis of the film in *Murnau*; in order to reconstruct the scenario, she relied on Carl Mayer's script which makes clear the use of diaries and letters to convey the state of events and emotions.[5] The version under evaluation from the Münchner Filmmuseum includes the intertitles contained in the script.

Der Gang in die Nacht has been described as a chamber play, a melodrama, and a tragedy, and elements of all these three genres are clearly evident. The limited number of characters and changes of locale are representative of a chamber play or Kammerspiel with its emphasis on psychological exploration, and the rapid turn of events and romantic entanglements can be seen as exceedingly melodramatic. The tragic elements become quite evident as the drama becomes progressively darker with a foreboding which points to the more or less self-destruction of three of the characters and the permanent blindness of the fourth.

Eye specialist Dr Eigil Börne (Olaf Fønss) has been engaged for some time to Helene (Erna Morena), whom he regards as reserved and rather cold, but who has contained her affection in order not to distract Börne from realising his further professional ambitions. They spend an entertaining evening at a cabaret which features acts by the young dancer Lily (Gudrun Bruun-Steffensen). Upon learning backstage that the handsome spectator whom she notices in the audience is a doctor, Lily simulates an accident on stage and a subsequent ankle injury, which successfully delivers Dr Börne to her dressing-room. He agrees to examine her again the next day at her hotel, at which time they begin to share a mutual attraction for one another. Lily's coquetry proves even more alluring in view of Helene's restraint, which quickly prompts Börne to ask for their engagement ties to be broken. His formidable research ambitions are put aside as he moves with Lily to a remote island fishing village and opens a local medical practice there as a country doctor.

Börne and Lily's quiet, idyllic life together is still in the early playful stages of affection when one day a young painter (Conrad Veidt),

now completely blinded, returns to his house in the village. Börne takes an interest in the painter and believes that he can help to restore his sight. Lily, however, becomes increasingly ill at ease as she finds herself almost unwillingly drawn to the painter, her confused state eventually manifesting itself in her mad, costumed dance in the bedroom. In the meantime, Börne has learnt of Helene's collapse and worsening condition and feels that he is primarily to blame. He performs surgery on the painter's eyes which restores his sight, thus allowing him for the first time to see Lily's face. Börne returns to the city to visit his former fiancée, but despite her worsening condition, Helene retains her pride which results in his being turned away at the door by the maid. Börne returns to the island, and finds Lily and the painter together in the dunes, now very much a pair. Börne's fury and exasperation at this turn of events becomes more than his constitution can bear.

Time passes and Professor Dr Eigil Börne now has an extremely successful eye practice in the city. On the island, the painter's blindness has returned and when Lily enters Börne's surgery, his obsession with her is awakened. He finds himself grovelling and begging for her to take him back, but this humiliation turns to loathing when Lily asks for his help in restoring the painter's sight; in his anger, Börne agrees to her request on the condition that she kills herself. Soon realising his mistake, he rushes to the couple's house only to find that he is too late, and the painter is grieving silently. Meanwhile, Helene has died quietly, satisfied in the conviction that Börne has become a famous and successful eye surgeon. Börne dies in his office chair with a short letter from the painter in his hand, in which the blind man states that life without Lily has precluded any thought of a cure; his desire is now to remain in darkness.

4.1.1 Narrative Form

The narrative structure relates the stories of four characters, two men and two women, but the film is essentially composed of two quite different love triangles. The first triangle is one involving social class, in which lower class Lily destroys the union of the upper-middle-class couple Börne and Helene. The second and narratively more dominant trio consists of one scientist (Börne) and two artists (Lily and the Painter). The significance of the stranger as painter presumes that his form of artistic expression is dependent on sight, as indeed Lily's livelihood is dependent on the use of the leg with which she feigned injury.

The film is comprised of five acts, although the version being analysed contains only the single title card 'Akt 1' at the beginning with the further four acts not denoted. According to an analysis by Jürgen Kasten of Mayer's adapted script[6], the film's five acts are delineated thusly, with Act 1 terminating with Börne's plea to Helene to break off the engagement. Act 2 begins with a discouraged Lily reading Börne's note in her hotel and ends with her frivolity in her disguise as a peasant woman turning quickly to fear and foreboding. A nature shot of sky and clouds signals the first signs of a storm and the beginning of Act 3, and the storm's abatement at the stroke of six opens Act 4. After evidence of Lily's betrayal and Börne's subsequent collapse, Act 5 opens with Börne at his successful practice in the city and ends in tragedy for all concerned.

The narrative's action leads up to the focal point of 6.00 pm when the bandages are removed to determine whether or not the operation has been a success. The tension is increased significantly through the use of the repeated shots of the advancing clock, signalling the approaching hour of revelation. This climatic point (Fig. 23) is also signalled in a most dramatic fashion by the intensification of the storm which, in turn, seems to precipitate Lily's mad, costumed dance in the

bedroom. Premonition in the narrative is developed through Lily's playfulness turning to apprehension whenever the Painter is mentioned or present, leading unequivocally to her fate. It is Lily's presence in the film continually functions to propel the narrative. Helene is passive in her acquiescence of social conventions. The Painter is likewise passively engaged, while Börne also allows himself to be subjected to manipulation. Whereas the Painter and Helene are quite subdued, both Lily and Börne exhibit numerous emotional upheavals. It is Lily who seduces Börne which destroys Helene, and later she seduces the Painter by seeking him at the cliff.

Although the prevalence and function of landscape is examined in the discussion of mise en scène, the importance of the role of nature in the narrative of *Der Gang in die Nacht* deserves special emphasis. The rain is falling as Helene and friends leave the cabaret holding umbrellas as Börne tends to the dancer's ankle. The following day, the rainy weather outside Lily's hotel not only provides an excuse for her to invite Börne to remain a bit longer and stay for tea, but also justifies the prolonged visit in Börne's mind and relieves his sense of guilt. The prominent use of landscape shots is particularly apparent during the melodramatic events which transpire in Act 3, in which Murnau for the first time uses forces of nature such as wind and waves to reflect the turbulent emotions of his characters. One of the earliest landscape shots is of the cliff; it is this location which is used in order to visualise the shifting from the first love triangle to the second. It is on the cliff that the newly joined couple Börne and Lily are able to enjoy the freedom of expressing their love, far from Helene and the judgemental attitudes of their acquaintances in the city. Two shots from the top of the cliff which show the deep abyss and crashing waves are then inserted as part of the cross-cutting in Act 3 which signals Lily's anxious state of mind leading up to the unbandaging of the Painter's eyes. Finally, the cliff functions as the site where the mutual desire of Lily and the Painter is disclosed, which additionally provides parallelism of

replacement in the narrative; Börne and Lily first stand embracing on the wind-swept cliff soon after their arrival, with Börne's position as lover later filled by the Painter, clearly evident as Lily sits wrapped in the Painter's arms on the breezy cliff overlooking the sea.

It is the storm in Act 3 which is the narrative turning point of the film. The lightning storm is portrayed by eight different shots of storm clouds and windswept coastline. These unpopulated landscape shots are juxtaposed with shots of the advancing clock, which functions as a means to slow the pace and create an atmosphere of dramatic tension. At the beginning, Lily is afraid of the lightning storm and closes both windows. As the storm progresses, she becomes increasingly agitated and even emotionally unstable. In a dramatic gesture, she flings open the chest and puts on her dancing costume, throwing open the windows as if embracing the turbulence. These stormy landscape shots also serve to prefigure the primary triangle confrontation which occurs at the end of Act 4. The wind blows violently when Börne sees the lovers together; when Lily and the Painter were alone prior to Börne's discovery, there was relative stillness.

In addition to the inserts of landscape, the development of important narrative information is conveyed through the use of inserts in the forms of letters, documents, and newspaper cuttings. Helene is shown reading on two different occasions: the first shows two separate inserts of two pages she has written in her diary which express her resolve to quietly support Börne by not deterring him from his course with romantic demands which would hinder his career. These two inserts function interestingly in suggesting that Helene is re-reading the passages she has just written at the same time as the viewer is allowed to read her private revelations. The second instance is an insert of a newspaper cutting enumerating Börne's successes (Fig. 28) which occurs late in the film on two occasions: when the nurse reads the article to Helene and again shortly thereafter when Helene takes it from under her pillow and reads with elation about the great healer. This

insert provides an ironic narrative counterpoint in its placement immediately after the scene in which Börne has collapsed to the floor unconscious after having refused to heal the Painter unless Lily kills herself.

A distraught Lily is shown reading Börne's handwritten letter and the insert states that he can never see her again. It is Börne who is shown reading three different inserts on five separate occasions. Lily's hand-written note when dressed as the peasant woman is a consolatory gesture, however, curiously the note hidden in her thick sock is redundant; Börne already suspected Lily's flirtatious deception when he first visited her apartment. The insert of the letter informing Börne about Helene's worsening condition is seen three times: when first received at the cottage gate, while standing in the Painter's house in front of the window, and when he re-reads it for the third time in front of the fireplace. The last shot of the film is an insert of the text of the Painter's letter held in Börne's lifeless hand, stating the chosen fate of the sole surviving character.

Pivotal narrative points often happen when departing or returning to the island, which must take place by boat. The most striking parallel in the film is the arrival of the blind Painter (Fig. 21) and later of Börne (Fig. 22), both shown standing still and facing the island in the same small rowboat as it is being rowed to shore. It is, in fact, the Painter's arrival coinciding with Börne's departure, presumably in the same boat, which clearly marks the new narrative phase in the form of the second triangle. This transition is indicated as Lily waves good-bye to Börne as he leaves for the city and in mid-wave she sees Painter approaching who then passes her oblivious to her presence. Other parallels include Helene at the fireplace, throwing Börne's love letters into the flames. Börne is also shown at a fireplace, reading the letter about Helene which in contrast he does not throw in. During the storm, the Painter is shown resting in bed intercut with Lily also lying in bed. The cross-cutting is further punctuated with various shots of raging landscape, which

creates a vivid foreshadowing of their turbulent union. Another striking parallel is that both Lily and Börne lose their senses in the bedroom, she during the storm as she dances wildly in her costume and later the betrayed Börne who staggers through the bedroom clutching Lily's dancing costume before finally collapsing.

There are numerous ellipses which indicate the passage of narrative time. The rainy evening visit that Börne's makes to Lily's hotel is interjected with odd cuts to shots of unimportant activities, such as busy traffic, a person entering Lily's hotel, and Börne's butler tidying up the desk in his study. The passenger train on which Börne and Lily leave their past lives follows a filmic convention which functions to ellipse time and imply relocation. Of Börne's research trip to the city, only his unsuccessful visit to see Helene is shown. Act 5 opens with Börne's established medical practice in the city, which conveys elliptically the passage of time from Börne's collapse to his renewed career commitment, despite his pain and heartache at losing Lily to the Painter. His changed attitude is succinctly revealed in a short scene in which one of his patients who tries to express his abounding gratitude receives the curt rebuff, 'Kein Dank! Pflicht!'.

A subtle form of direct address in found on the two occasions that Lily deceives Börne in that the address functions in revealing information purely to clarify any confusion the audience may have. The close-up shot of Lily's amusement at Börne being fooled by her 'injury' functions as a signal to the viewer of her hoax. This illumination for the audience appears again later when in direct address the disguised Lily reveals herself to the camera as the peasant woman. It has also been suggested that a double sense of voyeurism is present early in the film.[7] This could be expanded further to include the film's viewers who watch Lily peeking at a particular member of the cabaret audience who in turn is sitting in the boxed seat with the intention of being passively entertained by watching Lily's act.

4.1.2 Mise en scène

4.1.2.1 Settings and Props

Murnau's films are commonly seen to emphasise the contrasting elements of studio and location shots. This earliest extant example shifts between exterior and interior scenes which seem to be more equally balanced than the many German films of this period, which contained scenes primarily staged in constructed sets. The ceilingless sets which were used in *Der Gang in die Nacht* display for the most part quite elegant and refined interiors, reflecting the social standing of Börne and Helene. Helene's rooms are composed of elegant, high walls and windows, a marble parquet floor, and richly decorated wallpaper. Her living areas are softened by flowers in a vase by the window, flowers on her secretary, and outdoor shrubs and plants visible from the interior set. In addition, the indoor entry and stairs leading to her rooms are represented.

Börne's study is much darker with richly conservative, elegant furnishings, although his waiting room is sparsely decorated and merely functional. His study is filled with books and the hanging lamp over his desk accentuates his desk and the elaborate desk chair which is the focal point of the framing. Its importance is denoted through the choice of framing which distorts its size as the chair looms in the foreground; it is the seat of disciplined behaviour in which he sits and to which he repeatedly returns in an attempt to subdue his emotions. It is at this desk and chair, however, that Lily's presence upsets his command; it is here that he first proclaims his love to Lily and where later in his fury he tells her to take her life. Helene keeps herself separated from Börne's professional life and is, appropriately, never seen in his office. A contrast can be seen in Lily's hotel room. There is a doorman but the interior furnishings do not demonstrate the same elegance as Helene's rooms. Lily as the variety artist is associated with loud fabric patterns which clash invariably with her clothing. This unrefined quality extends to her

dressing-room which has the impression of being a rather make-shift, temporary arrangement rather than intentionally decorated.

Although located in a rural setting, Börne and Lily's house at the seaside is decorated with simple elegance. The walls are again high, in keeping with the other interior set designs, however, in Lily's upstairs bedroom one sees the only instance of an inwardly leaning wall, providing a hint of the existence of a ceiling. The interior of the Painter's house is quite simple and modest; the furniture is unassuming and his artistic interests are represented by sculpture and his easel placed in front of the large windows. The rustic brick and half-timbered interior walls complement the thatched roof, which is indicative of its northern location. Through the window where Börne reads the letter is seen only shallow, opaque space with unconvincing 'outdoor' plants. A piece of furniture which plays quite a prominent role throughout the film is the daybed. Helene and Lily are often seen reclining on daybeds, Lily in the dressing-room with her supposed foot injury as well as in her hotel room and Helene during her long illness with a soft net draped from above. Lily is seen reclining several times in the bedroom at the seaside house, and she eventually commits suicide on a daybed in the cottage where she lives with the Painter, the pillows obscuring most of her body except for her hands.

Several props or inanimate objects are prominent. Helene is often seen with written material of some kind, such as her diary, Börne's love letters, and the newspaper cutting. Börne's reputation as a learned man is also emphasised through his connection with books. He is seen reading on several occasions, in his study in the city and at his desk at the seaside house. It is also a book which is used to confirm the Painter's return to blindness. His easel is a prominent prop in numerous key scenes and is first seen when Börne visits the Painter, sitting immobile at his easel. As Börne looks at the painting and presumably complements him, the Painter's melancholic reply is 'Thanks be to God for the grace of sight'; his inability to see this painting is also shared by

the audience, for although viewed numerous times from the back, the painting is never revealed. The doctor, however, is apparently so moved by this painting that he decides to attempt to heal him.

The exterior architecture used in the film consists of the stone facade of Börne's study and medical practice which is sharply contrasted with the light, wooden seaside house. There is not a clear view of the exterior of the painter's house which is only viewed from the garden, and there is no view of the exterior of Helene's building. The front of Lily's hotel is viewed in three extreme long shots of the same rainy street scene. Numerous passing motorcars and the doorman indicate a busy city street. Exterior and interior shots are juxtaposed throughout *Der Gang in die Nacht*, but quite late in the film after numerous consecutive interior scenes, the audience sees a scene in the countryside with a long trajectory path through an arch; ironically, the relief for the viewer at again experiencing open spaces occurs at the point when painter discovers his returned loss of vision. These visual contrasts are found throughout the film in nature and between nature and people. With the appearance of the speeding train one-third through the film, the viewer is suddenly propelled from interior scenes to the breezy outdoors. In the first shot of Börne and Lily on the cliff embracing and stretching, the wind seems exhilarating, reflecting their excitement and passion.

The interjection of a series of uninhabited nature shots, or 'atmospheric inserts' according to Barry Salt, begins at forty-three minutes into the film, depicting progressively stronger winds and waves crashing to shore. This placement occurs as Lily proclaims her strong fear of the Painter coming to the house, and Börne is considering trying to heal him. It is in Lily's bedroom that the lightning is first seen and is therefore equated with her growing fear. Lily's impulse to throw open the windows allows the increasing ferocity of the storm to be gauged by the appearance of the blowing curtains. There are eight nature shots during the healing, one of which is calm. The sixth nature shot which depicts

the abyss is repeated later during Börne's frenzied seizure on the stormy cliff. Börne's enraged temperament during this sequence is echoed in the violently blowing wind which whips him as he crawls wildly amidst the low shrubs (Fig. 40). During the confrontation scene, however, the scenery is perfectly still when Börne first sees the Painter with Lily, and the implications have not yet been grasped. Finally, during the scene of the Painter and Börne mourning Lily's death, the raging storm can be viewed through the glass window with small panes.

4.1.2.2 Lighting

The lighting quality in *Der Gang in die Nacht* tends to display a slightly harder than soft quality, that is to say, more contrast, although soft lighting is clearly evident in the key scene of Börne's madness in the dunes. The sources of illumination derive more often than not from obvious sources of natural light such as sunlight through windows. At Helene's house there are two towering windows with long curtains. Lily opens up both bedroom windows during her dance which emphasises the lightning storm. At the Painter's house, Börne and the housemaid are placed prominently near a window, but the window is not used for illumination.

Fireplaces are given prominent positions in the film, both cold and lighted. Helene's early disappointment at Börne's working occurs next to her cold fireplace, where she would later burn his letters. Lily also reads Börne's letter in front of her cold fireplace. The illumination emanating from lighted fireplaces is a source by which letters are read by both Helene and Börne. At the seaside house, dramatic low-key lighting radiates from the fireplace illuminating the faces of Börne and Lily when her fear of being attracted to the Painter is revealed (Fig. 58). She faces away from Börne with both cast and attached shadows. The same fireplace was cold during her frivolous game when disguised as a peasant woman. When Börne's fears are realised in the sight of Lily's dead body, his dark figure is symmetrically framed in front of the large

window, with the fireplace on the left and door on the right. The artificially induced light from the fireplace is oddly reflected on the large pillow supporting Lily's body on the daybed. A lamp features most noticeably in the scene at the seaside house in which Lily prepares the table for the Painter's invitation to dinner. Murnau has chosen to emphasise the significance of this scene through the use of a 30-second take; that the lamp is an object which aids sight in its eradication of darkness is stressed in the great care Lily takes in draping a cloth over one side of the lamp to protect the Painter's newly operated eyes.

The film's most vivid moment of dramatic chiaroscuro takes place quite appropriately during the unbandaging scene, with the strongly contrasting light and shadow symbolic of the healed Painter's remarkable transition from darkness to light. A quite curious rendering of shadow effects is seen indoors at the seaside house during the lightning storm. After standing outside the bandaged Painter's room with increasing angst, Lily rushes up the flight of stairs as lighting illuminates her form in the darkness. When the individual film frames are isolated, however, it can clearly be seen that the conventional cast shadows of Lily ascending the steps during the lightning storm are quite distorted (Figs. 64, 65). The effect when viewed in normal running time is much more unsettling than a realistic cast shadow of the actress would have been.

4.1.2.3 Costumes and Make-up

Börne wears elegant suits befitting a man in his position, a clothing choice which does not vary throughout the film. Börne also wears a hat, which is knocked off immediately before his scene of rage. The Painter wears dark, subdued, and close-fitted clothing. Helene's softly feminine pale, ruffled dress creates a contrast against the dark curtains early in the film. Her light jacket against her dark skirt is cut to reflect and enhance both her posture and the position of her hands as she begins to grasp the significance of Börne's diverted attention.

Lily has the greatest number of clothing changes. Her striped cloak in the dressing-room has stripes which twirl as she spins, a contrast to the striped wallpaper behind her. In the seduction scene as she offers Börne the lumps of sugar, she is wearing an appropriately flirtatious feather dressing-gown. She also wears a loudly patterned dressing-gown which clashes with the daybed cover on which she sits. This is in stark contrast to her later dark, more conservative dress chosen for streetwear which she wears on the two occasions that she enters his office hoping to persuade him to fulfil her wishes. Although disappointed by Börne's rejection, she first dons conservative dress, perhaps to legitimize her standing in Börne's eyes, and displays convincing self-confidence in order to win him. When begging for the restoration of her lover's sight, her dress is again dark and conservative, but her demeanour is downcast and depressed. For the scenes at the seaside house, she wears an attractively casual, lighter cotton checked dress which seems appropriate for the coastal environment, and she wears a soft, white dress with lace to meet the Painter.

The most significant costume prop is Lily's dancing costume which she wears the first time she and Börne meet. A symbol of their mutual attraction and passionate relationship, it returns in parallel situations set in Lily's bedroom where both Lily and Börne become mentally unstable in two scenes involving her costume. As mentioned above, Lily dons her costume and dances wildly during the storm sequence in Act 3; later in Act 4, the humiliated Börne clutches her dance costume passionately and weeps into it before collapsing on the floor.

The make-up chosen for Helene, Börne, and the Painter does not call attention to itself. As Lily is a performer, her stage make-up is appropriately strong. This is seen most prominently in the close-up framing of her face during the injury deception in her dressing-room. Her naturally dark hair is seen throughout the film, with the exception

of the blonde wig which she wears on stage during her feigned injury, a symbol of a further sign of reality being altered.

4.1.2.4 Figure Behaviour

Despite the stature of the actors participating in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, there is a certain incongruity found in the acting. Fønss's acting style was almost uniformly praised in the contemporary press, whereas today's audience may find his gestures and facial expressions excessive, particularly when contrasted with the more natural acting styles of the two actresses. Fønss exhibits extreme histrionics, with frenzied physical movement on the cliff and his desperate grasping of Lily's hips as he falls weeping in his office contrasted with his calm, self-assured professional behaviour,

Unlike the naturalist tendency in Swedish acting, *Der Gang in die Nacht* displays frozen poses in which actors strike posed tableau shots which are held for a lengthy period; these are gestural, often with the arms thrust forward or hanging stiffly at their sides, accompanied by a slowly bowing head. This is first seen twice in the film's first two minutes in Helene's deliberate postures, which are similar to her later pose at the breaking of the engagement, in her low bowing head with arms at her sides (Fig. 73). Börne adopts the same pose with bowed head when refused entry by Helene, his slowly hanging head bowing in front of Helene's door after being informed by the maid that Helene refuses to see him; both he and the maid hang the heads simultaneously (Fig. 74). Three minutes later, Lily also bows her head in sadness when Börne sees her with the Painter.

Conrad Veidt also gives a gestural performance with particular emphasis on his hands, not only a fitting symbol for a painter but an acting trait which is evident in many of Veidt's performances. When sitting outside in front of his painting on its easel, his long, bony fingers are attenuated against the dark clothes. His hands are then folded as if in prayer as the Painter makes his declaration to Börne on God's gift of

sight. The dramatic gesture with his palms up and fingers separated indicates the Painter's wondrous astonishment when after the operation he realises that his sight has been restored. In his house after realising the consequences of having now seen Lily's lovely face, the Painter sits at his window, raises one hand and then two and grimaces with a dramatic gesture of fists to his eyes, followed by the dialogue intertitle, 'Hätte ich nie gesehen!'.

Helene is first seen stroking sheer curtains in longing of Börne's arrival. She is also seen stroking her newspaper which contains the article of Börne's success and his picture, and her death is signified by her left hand sliding away from the newspaper and dropping to her side. Her reserved gestures are contrasted with Lily's figure behaviour. The dancer's first appearance in the film at the cabaret is very telling. One immediately notices her casual, nonchalant posture and gait. The tap on her hat in a jocular fashion can be compared with the more refined ease of Börne and Helene sitting in the audience. Lily's flirtatious left leg kicked between the stage curtains functions as a foreshadowing of the contrived 'accident' involving the same leg. Her dance on stage is performed in the bedroom as if in a trance; the sight of Börne brings her to her senses and with it, strong feelings of guilt.

The film contains varied examples of displays of affection between the different characters. There are various circumstances under which the act of kissing takes place. Early on, Börne kisses Helene's cheek and later her hand. At his decision to return to work, she reacts quietly and a little disappointedly and exhibits a mild reaction when Börne kisses her hand backstage before seeing Lily. After examining Lily's foot in her dressing-room, Lily raises her hand to be kissed, which Börne shakes instead. Helene's reserved behaviour is sharply contrasted with Lily's exaggerated ecstasy with arms outstretched after Börne kisses her hand in her hotel room; Börne seems quietly amused and shakes her hand. In his office, Börne shutters when Lily touches his shoulder, but this is quickly followed by a passionate kiss. Once their mutual affection has

been established, the film contains numerous sequences which exhibit Börne and Lily's playful and affectionate relationship. It is significant that the last demonstration of Börne's love is solely his initiative and not shared, indicated as a kiss by Börne on Lily's head as she lies in bed asleep before he leaves. By this time, Lily has already begun to allow herself to be drawn to the Painter. At the dinner table, all three raise their glasses in a toast, after which the Painter and Lily shake, almost hold, hands across the table. The Painter and Lily are not shown kissing on the mouth; the Painter kisses Lily's hand and hugs her hips on the cliff, a posture that later parallels Börne's grip on Lily in his office. When the Painter is sure of blindness after having opened book very resolutely, Lily gently kisses and strokes his head tenderly. The final kiss is the only one not of a romantic nature, in which one of Börne's patients tries to kiss his doctor's hand in gratitude, but Börne pulls it away refusing any gratefulness and declaring bitterly that healing is his duty. This can be seen as a none too subtle reminder of the Painter kissing Börne's hand after the operation had been successful in restoring his sight, as well as Lily's attempt on the dunes to kiss his hand for healing the Painter.

The striking parallelism in the vertical positioning of Börne and the Painter standing in the rowboat has already been mentioned above. Various diagonal positions include Börne's posture in the chair, first leaning to the right and later to the left. Parallelism is also seen in the dead Börne's posture leaning to the right in his chair and holding the letter from the Painter which he doesn't release; this parallels Helene's death just prior to this, with her leaning left and holding her precious newspaper cutting. This diagonal posing, however, does not appear to translate to the staging which was chosen. Here Murnau's direction displays staging which was perhaps more common amongst directors during the mid-1910s. The staging is relatively static, front to back and back to front which privileges frontality, and nearly devoid of any diagonal staging. Indeed, the staging of the maid entering through the

dividing door was a common strategy in the 1910s. What makes it dynamic in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, however, is the positioning of furniture and sets at a diagonal, which disguises the often torpid and repeated figure movements. The staging in Börne's office, for example, is quite repetitive in that Börne, his butler, and Lily arrive and leave either through the door or round the corner to and from the foregrounded armchair at the desk. The rigidity in staging is quite evident when compared to the relative fluidity of *Nosferatu* and *Der brennende Acker*.

The arrival of the Painter is the most well-known image of the film; the sea is still and the frame shows only his stiff standing form reflected in the anchored boat with a tall mast to the far right. As he passes Lily for the first time, a line of these same boats docked at the shore is seen in the distance. The background also shows a pastoral scene with cows. Staging also causes changes in the relative positioning of characters. In the deep space indicated in Helene's rooms divided by a wall and doorway, quite subtle staging occurs in which Helene steps forward with arms stiffly at her sides, moving the sitting form of Börne into the background. He then rises and joins her. Blocking occurs on several occasions, as when Lily disguised as the peasant woman walks in the far distance directly behind Börne. Still occupied at his desk and facing the camera, he blocks her, perhaps signifying his 'unseeing' lack of recognition, after which he walks straight back towards her.

Quite unusual for this film is the 'clothesline' staging of the primary confrontation scene in shallow depth, with the Painter, Lily, and Börne standing in a horizontal line. Lily's outstretched arms create the barrier between the Painter with arms thrust down at his sides and the aggressor Börne whose arms reach out to attack the Painter (Fig. 78). Just prior to this when first spotting each other, both Börne and the Painter have their right arms outstretched in a stylised, parallel gesture.

4.1.3 Cinematography

4.1.3.1 Photographic Elements

Der Gang in die Nacht is consistent with the majority of German films in 1920 in its deep-focus, conventional photography. The sharp focus on all planes preferred by Murnau during this period allowed him to select the various choices demonstrated in the depth staging mentioned above. The version from the Münchner Filmmuseum is black and white and has not been treated with tinting or toning.

4.1.3.2 Framing

Many repeated set-ups and framings are evident. As mentioned above, the staging is most often towards the camera and retreating from it. What is particularly striking in a very early scene is the choice of a diagonally angled set-up of Börne's office with the door in background and his desk and chair in the foreground, with the staging still front to back. A different framing with the camera positioned closer to the right of the set would have created diagonal staging.

Contrasting shot scales are used in the cabaret with an extreme long shot of Lily dancing with the audience in the foreground (Fig. 89) followed by a close-up of Börne who has already been established as being a member of the audience. Although there are few close-ups, they are significant in alerting the audience to Lily's two deceptions; as Börne examines her leg 'injury', a close-up shot of Lily feigning pain and smiling alternatively functions as a reminder to the viewer of her hoax. Similarly, a close-up reveals for the audience her practical joke as the old peasant woman.

A seductive intrusion into the frame from off-screen space is achieved with a cut from a long shot to medium close-up of Lily's hand offering sugar (Fig. 98); in this case the intrusion serves to enhance the flirtatious atmosphere. Rare for this film are medium shots, however, there are two mediums shots of Börne after the butler's announcement

of Lily's visit and moments later, his apprehension after she enters his study. There is also a medium shot of the dead Lily's arm and pillows on the daybed, her limp body mainly obscured by the pillows, which in turn directs the viewer's focus towards the two men's reactions to her death.

Mobile framing occurs with Lily's first point-of-view shot, and is more pronounced in a scene at the seaside house. A long shot of Lily looking out the window, disturbed about seeing the Painter and perhaps hoping for another glimpse, pans slowly to the left to see Börne entering the room. It then follows him as he walks quietly to his right to surprise her, with the shot ending where it began. Reframing occurs early in the film as Börne rises abruptly in Lily's hotel room when he suspects that she has been fooling him. Reframing is also used to follow Lily into the house after first seeing the Painter, but in this case the motivation not only appears to be the need to keep her in the frame, as was the prior instance, but also to exploit the beauty of the pastoral landscape with the grazing cows, windmill, and fishing boats.

The use of irises is ubiquitous throughout the entire film. Masks are used in on several occasions which draw attention to themselves. Lily peeks through the stage curtain twice with an irregularly torn oval-shaped mask used to simulate the peek hole Lily has made by opening a gap in the stage curtains (Fig. 91). Masks above and below the two lines of text in Lily's note from Börne isolate the partial sentence which states the end of their acquaintance. By far the most vivid use is the dominant, arched mask which emphasises the arrival of the Painter.

4.1.3.3 Shot Duration

In a film comprised of shots of quite long duration, there are several extended long takes, all of which make little use of variance in staging. The shot of Börne terminating his relationship with Helene lasts for one minute and eleven seconds, with much of the time spent with the characters standing rigidly. The shot of Börne in Lily's room after learning of her indiscretion is the longest take in the film, lasting two-

and-a-half minutes, and manages quite convincingly to convey his intense anguish with limited variance in staging.

4.1.4 Editing

In keeping with Murnau's early style, the editing in *Der Gang in die Nacht* functions to connect shots which are in themselves quite self-contained in conveying narrative information and therefore the possible interactive relations between shots are minimised. By showing a preference for quite intact units, Murnau has created a much slower rhythm and tempo for this film than would be found in the greater use of analytical editing present in his next films. The infrequent examples of analytical editing serve merely to clarify any confusion the audience may have either about the identity or psychological state of the person in the establishing shot. The first is the above-mentioned point-of-view close-up shot of Börne in the audience, which leaves no doubt as to the object of Lily's gaze. The second is the cut to Lily's humoured asides in the dressing-room. The third is again Lily when dressed as the peasant woman in Börne's surgery.

An interesting succession of three examples of point-of-view cutting, clearly at odds with one another, occurs early in the film during Lily's first discovery of Börne. As she discretely parts the stage curtains to peer at the audience, the first point-of-view shot is an extreme long shot which pans left, stops at Börne, then tilts downward and upward again, almost as if she is literally looking him up and down. The second point-of-view shot shortly thereafter is nearly a full frame and shot from the same distance, with a very subtle, soft round mask at the edges of the frame. The third which follows is a close-up shot of Börne glancing to his right. Given Lily's position behind the stage curtain the third shot cannot be seen as a realistic point-of-view framing; the close-up of Börne is the same set-up used one minute later when watching the flower act, with a correct eyeline match to his left towards the action on the stage.

One of the more unexpected and interesting cuts is used for the purpose of association; as Börne leaves Lily's hotel she watches him from her window, followed by a cut to Helene at her door as Börne enters. This serves to establish the presence of the first love triangle. The second triangle is established through a well-executed eyeline match crossing spatial boundaries as the three sit together at the dining-room table. In addition, the editing choices in Act 3 bind Lily and the Painter together during the lightning storm with intercut shots of Lily's frenzied dance and assorted shots of the raging storm, juxtaposed with the quietly resting, bandaged painter. This cross-cutting during the storm additionally serves to increase the tempo in Act 3; in Act 4, however, a rare early use by Murnau of shot/reverse-angle shot during Börne's frenzied attack on the dunes is used to quicken the pace.

Finally, there are two rather curious instances of unobtrusive dissolves. The first is a shot of Börne at his desk at the seaside house with the window in the background. A subtle shift of framing creates a dissolve which momentarily superimposes the similar shots, resulting in effectively signifying the infatuated man's current lack of concentration and wandering mind. The second instance of an unobtrusive dissolve is Börne and Lily's last moment together as a couple, immediately after Börne leans down to kiss her head, again with a window to his back.

Notes to *Der Gang in die Nacht*

[1] *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. Ein Melancholiker des Films*, Berlin: Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek and Bertz Verlag, 2003, p. 271.
[2] See Jürgen Kasten, *Carl Mayer: Filmpoet. Ein Drehbuchautor schreibt Filmgeschichte*. Berlin: Vistas, 1994, p. 90. According to the Danish Film Institute, Bloch wrote 49 scripts for Danish films, and sources from the Swedish Film Institute indicate that she was responsible for 5 films, rather than the possible 12 mentioned.
[3] Murnau's film collaboration with Conrad Veidt in *Satanas*, *Sehnsucht*, *Der Januskopf*, *Abend-Nacht-Morgen*, and *Der Gang in die Nacht* took place from autumn 1919 to the following autumn 1920.
[4] Lotte Eisner, *Murnau*, p. 89.
[5] Lotte Eisner, *Murnau*, p. 93.
[6] Jürgen Kasten, *Carl Mayer: Filmpoet. Ein Drehbuchautor schreibt Filmgeschichte*. Berlin: Vistas, 1994, pp. 90-96.
[7] Fred Gehler and Ullrich Kasten, *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Augsburg: AV-Verlag Franz Fischer, 1990, p. 34.

4.2 *Nosferatu. Eine Symphonie des Grauens*, F.W. Murnau, 1921/22

Prana-Film, Berlin. Albin Grau and Enrico Dieckmann, producers.
A horror film in five acts, censored length 1967 metres.
Script: Henrik Galeen, freely adapted from *Dracula* by Bram Stoker.
Set Design and Costumes: Albin Grau
Camera: Fritz Arno Wagner and Günther Krampf

Nosferatu. Eine Symphonie des Grauens was filmed from August to October 1921 at the Jofa-Atelier, Johannisthal, as well as numerous settings on location in Wismar, Lübeck (Salzspeicher), Lauenburg, Rostock, Schloß Oravsky in the Carpathian mountains, Dolin Kubin, Vratna Pass, Schlesische Hütte, the River Waag, and Tegeler Forst.[1] The formal première took place at the Marmorsaal des Zoologischen Gartens in Berlin on 4 March 1922, an event which was followed by a grand ball; public screenings began on 15 March 1922 at the Primus-Palast in Berlin. Enno Patalas at the Münchner Filmmuseum was responsible for the reconstruction which was first presented in 1984. He later made corrections based on a tinted copy discovered in Paris, and in collaboration with ZDF German television, the newly restored film was televised in 1988 and it is this version which is under consideration here.

The story begins in Wisborg in 1938. Thomas Hutter (Gustav von Wangenheim) is a newly married young clerk who works for the strange estate agent Knock (Alexander Granach). He is offered the chance to make quite a large sum of money by travelling a long distance to the castle of Count Orlok (Max Schreck). The Count is said to be interested in purchasing a house in Wisborg and Knock tells the clerk to offer the building opposite Hutter's own house. Hutter departs hastily and his wife Ellen (Greta Schröder) is in quite a distraught state and is therefore entrusted to the care of the wealthy ship-builder Harding (Georg Heinrich Schnell) and his sister (Ruth Landshoff). After an arduous journey during which the mysterious *Book of Vampires* continues to

reappear among his possessions, Hutter arrives at the castle. The Count's appearance is strangely grotesque with a disarming manner, but he is hospitable and offers a generous buffet of food and wine. The contract is quickly signed when Count Orlok happens to see a picture of Ellen. She is the impetus for the Count, now revealed as the vampire Nosferatu, and Hutter, whom he has preyed upon, to return simultaneously to Wisborg, Hutter by land and Nosferatu by sea. The vampire has boarded the ship Empusa in one of the numerous coffins filled with earth and rats, undetected by the ship's crew. When the captain (Max Nemetz) is the last victim to succumb to the vampire on board, Nosferatu arrives in Wisborg with the rats which quickly disseminate the plague throughout the town.

Knock, who is Nosferatu's assistant with strong allegiance to his master, has in the meantime been imprisoned for insanity and is under the supervision of Dr Sievers (Gustav Botz), a municipal doctor. Knock's escape results in a chase by the crowds and police, after which he is returned to his cell. The vampire has now taken residence in the house opposite the reunited couple. Ellen reads the *Book of Vampires* insatiably and realises that as a virtuous woman, only she can banish the plague and destroy the vampire by detaining him by her side until daybreak. In order to be alone with the vampire and anxious of the consequences, Ellen sends her husband to fetch Professor Bulwer (John Gottowt). The vampire comes to her room and she is successful in her determination to expose him to the sun's first rays; when Hutter and Professor Bulwer arrive, she breathes her final breath but Nosferatu has been destroyed and the deaths by plague have abruptly ceased.

4.2.1 Narrative Form

The film is composed of five acts and begins with the title and introductory pages of a chronicle recounting the plague of 1838, presented in the form of a diary. At the end of the first act, the gates close automatically behind Hutter as he enters the imposing castle;

upon entering the courtyard, he is greeted by Count Orlok after which they disappear together into the shadows. Act 2 begins with the Count and Hutter in the dining hall with a table laden with food and wine for the weary traveller. The act closes with the high-angle shot of the coffin-laden raft following the rapids downstream. The third act begins with a startled Hutter awakening in hospital and conversing with a doctor and nurse. At the conclusion of this act, the captain of the Empusa has tied himself to the ship's wheel awaiting his fate, powerless against the being who becomes the 'new captain'. Act 4 opens with a silhouette of the Empusa followed by its bobbing prow. The act concludes with the messenger's announcement of the plague, after which he rolls up his scroll. The fifth act commences with a series of white chalked crosses marked on the houses of the deceased victims of the plague, a fate which miraculously ceases in accordance with the destruction of the vampire at the end of the final act.

Nosferatu is constructed with a framing story, the diegesis being a flashback which is often intercepted by numerous diary entries. This serves as a reminder to the viewer of the story's historical position in respect to the narrator. The diary speaks in the first person of the plague which occurred long ago (1838), with direct information supplied by Hutter, Professor Bulwer, and Dr Sievers, therefore the diary must date from the latter part of the 19th century.[2] The narrator's diary entries begin and end the film, with dialogue intertitles and numerous inserts interspersed throughout, with the totality working as pieces of a narrative puzzle which is quite unique in Murnau's films, and very sophisticated for the early 1920s. Thus the narrative form does not follow one linear narrative authority, but makes use of many changes in narrative viewpoint. Inserts which include one man's diary entries, another man's love letter to his wife, an old book, a ship's log, an official proclamation, and a newspaper article serve to create a shifting of perceptions. Illegible to film viewers, there is an over-the-shoulder shot of the cryptic letter with mystical text through which Nosferatu and

Knock communicate. Although it is never indicated that Hutter finds the letter incomprehensible, his role provides a character with which the audience can readily identify; it is assumed that this cryptic code is shared only by the two grotesquely eccentric characters in the film, and therefore establishes an early bond between Count Orlok and Knock.

Other inserts which provide narrative information include the *Book of Vampires* which relates the story of Nosferatu and the plague. The book turns up repeatedly, first at the country inn and then surprisingly in Hutter's knapsack in his room at Count Orlok's castle. Hutter then carries it in his coat pocket back to Wisborg, where it is read obsessively by Ellen. During each of these instances, new narrative information is conveyed through different passages presented as inserts. The book is at first considered ludicrous, but with each presented insert, the book invokes increasing fear and alarm in its reader. Inserts of Hutter's handwritten letter to Ellen are presented twice, first when written in the gazebo on the castle turret and later when read by Ellen at the seaside. It is noteworthy that the insert is associated with gaiety and humour by its author who comments whimsically on the two mosquito bites found on his neck, yet a later insert of the same letter produces fear and uneasiness in its recipient.

The insert of the formal document stating the Count's cargo on the Empusa, with a hand holding the paper, is the first of several inserts which convey information about the plague. The rats which carry the plague are first seen when one coffin filled with 'native soil' is inspected before being loaded onto the Empusa. Rats are again released when another coffin is opened by the first mate down in the ship's hold. Upon the arrival of the ship in Wisborg and the disembarkation of the vampire, the rats stream out of the hold, quickly spreading the infestation throughout the town. The suspicion of the plague is first discovered through the reading of the Captain's log. Knock reads the announcement of the plague from a newspaper snatched from the warden cleaning his cell. The official proclamation of the plague is read

by a messenger boy with a drum; he unrolls the paper, followed by an insert of the proclamation, then a shot of him rolling it back up again.

Vital to the plot of *Nosferatu* are the involved journeys during which the characters are focused on reaching their destinations. When Hutter's boundless enthusiasm is expressed at the inn, he is not dissuaded by the innkeeper's warnings and the peasants' fears, but completes the difficult journey, scoffing and ultimately alone. As the film progresses, an increasing dialectic takes place between the locations, shifting back and forth between the castle in Transylvania and the quiet northern town of Wisborg. Hutter originally travels to Count Orlok's castle by means of horseback, carriage, and finally on foot, with both Hutter and the viewer having restricted knowledge as to what awaits him. More dynamic still is a narrative parallel action of Nosferatu and Hutter's coinciding journeys to Wisborg, using cross-cutting to create tension, specifically the sequence of the ship carrying Nosferatu which parallels Hutter and his journey back home to Ellen. The Count is identified with water whereas Hutter is associated with land travel; this is of particular interest in that Ellen sits waiting on the dunes longing for Hutter, it is presumed, although her eyes are searching the expanse of sea. Count Orlok travels to Wisborg by cart lying in the coffin, then by raft through a rushing stream, then on the ship Empusa in open sea. Finally, he stands in a small rowboat when crossing the canal to his house, an image so striking in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. Meanwhile Hutter remains on land, first taken to the doctor after his injurious escape, then seen both riding and walking a horse, first through difficult terrain, then riding through streams, and walking the horse through the woods.

As Nosferatu and Hutter travel, both Ellen and Knock sit in Wisborg; they are not only waiting for the travellers' arrival but feel actively impelled to find them. Ellen's dialogue intertitle 'I must go to him. He is coming!' is ambiguous; to which of the travellers is she referring? She runs from Harding's house, with a cut to a shot of the sailing Empusa, followed by a shot of Knock looking out his cell window

as if seeing the ship entering the harbour, stating 'The Master is near!'. Both Hutter and the Count arrive 'home' at the same time; as mentioned above, Hutter and Ellen kiss when reunited, with a shot of a pleased Nosferatu intercut between shots, for his new residence is a well-situated vantage point located just opposite from which he can observe and wait for Ellen's consent. Again ambiguous, Ellen stitches 'Ich liebe Dich' in her needlework as she looks at the window through which she and Nosferatu daily view each other.

The film makes use of many parallel structures to strengthen ties between characters. Early in the film, Knock refers to the Count looking for a lovely, deserted house, a phrase later repeated by Count Orlok. After Knock's early active role, however, his narrative function becomes one of simply reiterating what the viewer has just seen. What *is* interesting is his knowledge of events whilst confined in his cell, found in his declarations 'The Master is near' and later 'The Master is dead'. After the depiction of Knock's escape, the same narrative information about Knock is repeated through conversations of anonymous people in Wisborg such as the old women that Knock has escaped after strangling his keeper. Repetition occurs as Hutter spends two nights at castle with the skeleton clock shown striking midnight both nights (Fig. 24). Ellen is found walking in a trance on the terrace on two occasions, both of which signal a seemingly less defined sense of allegiance, first as Hutter succumbs to the vampire on his second night in the castle and again during the separate journeys of the advancing travellers.

The motivation for Count Orlak to buy the house in the town appears to be his fortuitous view of Ellen's picture in the locket, after which he decides immediately. The narrative is then driven by Hutter's fear for Ellen's safety and he becomes fearful at the Count's fixation on her portrait. Hutter kisses his wife's image and places it safely in his knapsack, his longing for her quickly interrupted by his unexpected discovery of the *Book of Vampires*. The Count again 'interrupts' the couple's passionate reunion through the intercutting of the scene with a

medium close-up of his face. Parallels occur again near the end when Harding fetches Dr Sievers and Hutter fetches Professor Bulwer simultaneously. Galeen's script indicates that Sievers is attending to the recaptured Knock at the same time as Ellen sends Hutter to fetch Bulwer; other than Bulwer's passing comment to Hutter at the beginning of the film, he has only been shown lecturing his students, whereas Ellen had been examined earlier by Sievers at Harding's house. Harding's return with Dr Sievers is not indicated, and his sister's fate is left unresolved, although the original script implies her demise.[3]

Nosferatu's domain belongs to the organic, natural world, the realm of base, carnivorous and animalistic behaviour. Living entities belonging to the plant and animal kingdom begin with the playful kitten, which is identified with Ellen's purity and innocence. This is quickly replaced by her being handed the fresh bouquet of garden flowers 'killed' by Hutter, in effect revealing Hutter as the narrative causal device through which the vampire is drawn to Ellen, resulting in her destruction. This fatalism is further reinforced by Professor Bulwer's immediate prophetic advice that Hutter not hasten his destiny. Other animals include the werewolf embodied in a hyena, and horses run in the meadows and are harnessed to various carriages used by Hutter for conveyence; the horses pulling Nosferatu's carriage are ominously covered and hooded. Also included are rats, spiders and their webs, a devouring polyp which is 'as translucent as a phantom', and the cannibalistic Venus fly-trap which Bulwer likens to a vampire. Indeed, the shot of the Venus fly-trap trapping the fly is reflected in Nosferatu's long, bony finger entwined with his pointed fingernails protruding like spikes. Finally at the end, a cock crowing at daybreak signals the vampire's demise.

4.2.2 Mise en scène

4.2.2.1 Settings and Props

Nosferatu is, of course, well known for its prevalent use of natural settings and the reliance on existing architecture. More than anything else, it is the existence of unspeakable horror in bright, sunlit landscapes and actual edifices (Fig. 36) which creates the film's uneasy, disturbing quality. The occurrence of nature footage includes various views of the Carpathian mountains; there are two slow pans and extreme long shots of mountains with clouds and later a shot of ominous storm clouds. Hutter travels through long expanses of dry, wooded landscape before reaching the dense forest near the castle, which is startlingly rendered in negative exposure.

Water is ubiquitous and takes numerous forms. Shots of waves filmed from a second boat in the ship's wake during the journey to Wisborg are intercut with views of waves crashing on the shoreline, foretelling the inevitable connection between sea and land. As the coffins travel by raft down a fast moving river, Hutter rides his horse through a narrow stony stream and Ellen sits alone on the dunes facing the vast sea. Bodies of water also represent boundaries to be crossed; the small bridge over a stream denotes the beginning of the 'Land of the Phantoms', and a canal separates the vampire's new house from Hutter and Ellen's. Hutter is hindered from possible escape by the abyss and waterfall seen from his castle window and the extreme long shot of a deep valley with a small lake seen during Hutter's initial journey could well signify his impending confinement at the castle.

The most striking setting used in Nosferatu is without doubt the scenes shot in the courtyard and exterior shots of the castle, which privilege its ubiquitous arches and vaulted ceilings. As Hutter first enters through the automatically opening castle gates and proceeds into the courtyard, the gates close in the same manner behind him, creating an effective enclosure in which he is the trapped prey. At the castle,

there is a double-arch effect with the camera placed under one arch and Count Orlok emerging from under another arch; the Count and Hutter would later proceed back under it. The double arch is followed by the well-known shot of the hunched back and shoulders of the Count conforming to the contours of the rounded arch as he greets Hutter. The traveller's bowed arms as he enters the courtyard create an additional arch, all of which are further emphasised by the positioning of the camera under an arch to create a mask-like rounded shadow to the right of the frame. An arch frames Hutter as he emerges from under it to advance towards the camera, which is placed in front of a second large arch. He continues past the camera to its left and enters a covered, multi-arched turret. The arch which frames the sleeping vampire's coffin was evoked earlier in the arch over Hutter's bed at the inn. In the extreme long shots of the castle on the hill when first approached by Hutter, the Count's castle appears fortified and formidable. After the destruction of the vampire, however, the castle in shown in the last shot of the film in complete ruins.

The filming of existing architecture was chosen to represent the castle and the town, although the interiors were studio-built sets, including the guest room used by Hutter and the castle's large dining hall. An interior arch is viewed later as Hutter rushes to breakfast. The attention to detail in blending interiors and exteriors is also noted in the like-shaped doors seen as Hutter leaves through the door of his studio-built bedroom in the castle and then emerges from the castle through a similarly shaped gothic door. The motif of the castle arches is additionally strengthen by being found in Wisborg in both interiors and exteriors, such as the interior arches in Dr Siever's house and Harding's villa. Arches appear in the façades of the row of gabled houses in Wisborg which are pointed at on two occasions, Knock at the beginning of the film and Ellen at the end. A large arched structure can be viewed at the harbour, followed by the church arches behind Nosferatu as he carries his coffin through Wisborg. Later, as he flees the crowd Knock

runs through an arch towards camera, with the ensuing chase shot on location in cobbled streets and from rooftops, less dramatic, however, than the two views of the long street filmed in Lübeck of the messager boy with his drum, and later the procession of coffins.

Set as it is in 1838, the film displays appropriate interiors for the Biedermeier period, with the most ornate interiors and grander furniture belonging to the wealthy Harding. Strongly patterned floral wallpaper is common in the dwellings; however, the petit-bourgeois station of Hutter and Ellen is indicated by their simpler and somewhat sparse furnishings. Upon his arrival from the office, Hutter announces his intention to leave for the 'land of bandits and ghosts' which is made after emerging from their bedroom door to speak to Ellen who is standing by the window. Thus the bedroom where the dénouement takes place is unveiled and prominent in the background is the bedroom window through which the vampire's future house is visible. Hutter's entrance from the bedroom door rather than the one through which he earlier brought the bouquet of flowers is disconcerting, although no specific indication is found in the original script.[4] In addition, the off-screen door through which the vampire enters is understood through Ellen's sightline to be the same door used by Hutter when bringing the flowers, and thus reveals the general layout of their rooms. Doors continue to play a prominent role in the film. The castle gates and the door to Hutter's room open and close of their own accord, however, Hutter strains to open the heavy wooden door leading down to the vampire's coffin. Nosferatu walks through the closed large wooden doors of his new dwelling, and later the repetitive white chalk crosses on the house doors in Wisborg signify the gravity of the plague.

As with the importance of daybeds in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, the numerous beds in *Nosferatu* play an even greater role. Hutter is in bed at the inn, but curiously spends his first night at the castle in a chair. Nosferatu is seen twice lying in his coffin 'bed'. Harding's sister also appears twice in a reclining position, in her bed and on the daybed. The

afore-mentioned early shot of the young couple's bedroom reveals Hutter and Ellen's bed which is reflected in a wall mirror, an image repeated when she sacrifices herself to the vampire, resulting in the final scene of Hutter bending over her still body. This mirror reflecting Ellen's bed is used to striking effect. She is shown getting up from the bed and the vampire is shown lifting up his head. During the last scene of Hutter holding his dead wife, the spectator's view of both the husband and his reflection in the mirror is then blocked by Bulwer, perhaps denoting Hutter's destined role [in her death] to which Bulwer alluded very early in the film. Other mirrors associated with Hutter are the smaller wall mirror used as he adjusts his tie, and a small hand mirror to view his neck marks after awakening from his first night at castle.

Windows are conspicuous throughout the film, beginning with the two early shots of Ellen at the open window of their house playing with the kitten, and viewed by Hutter from another window. It is with Hutter's 'view' of the frightened horses through the window of his room at the inn that he first becomes concerned; the interior downstairs at the country inn which is decorated with rustic simplicity with a large stone fireplace is dark and, although windows can be seen on the exterior, the shots of devoid of windows, the diffused lighting creating a more threatening and claustrophobic environment. Most significant is the window with the pronounced glazing-bar as Ellen gazes down on the frightful procession of coffins. Later Ellen and Nosferatu view each other for days through their respective windows. She throws open both windows, thus perhaps forsaking her immunity to the plague symbolised by the window glazing-bar seen earlier. This lack of 'protection' signals a clear invitation to the vampire, and the window remains open as Nosferatu is destroyed. The air blowing the curtains in the sister's room at Harding's house signifies her vulnerability in the presence of the plague, a more discreet symbol than the growing shadow of a giant bat suggested in the script.[5]

The interior of the Port Authority building contains a claw-like trident resembling Nosferatu's arm and hand which juts out into the air. This framing also includes a strong horizontal beam, a stylistic device selected again in the window glazing-bar during the procession of coffins. The unusual inclusion of a ceiling is visible, as is also present in Knock's office, the interior of which bears a quirky resemblance to the office in *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*.

Props and inanimate objects are numerous. The many horse-drawn carriages can be considered a recurring device or motif; Hutter uses carriages three times as a means of conveyance, two on his initial journey and one carriage on his return, and Nosferatu is both a coach driver and later a 'passenger' lying in one of the coffins on the wagon pulled by horses. An early instance en route to the castle contains an image of a horse and carriage bringing Hutter which, as it ascends a gently hilly path, is composed quite similarly to a shot of the horse and carriage in Sjöström's *Körkarlen*, filmed two years earlier. Coffins play a significant role in the second half of the film. As well as being the vampire's nocturnal resting place, numerous coffins filled with native soil and rats are sent by raft and ship to Wisborg where they are then synonymous with the plague and supplanted by the coffins of the throng of victims.

Numerous objects are associated with Ellen, among which is the locket with her portrait in miniature. The locket figures interestingly as the impetus for the Count's sudden decision to purchase the house, and shortly thereafter, Hutter kisses the locket and as he places it deep in his knapsack, he finds the mysterious *Book of Vampires* which had mysteriously found its way into his sack after being thrown on the floor of the room at the inn. This book Ellen later reads voraciously in secret and its passages motivate her actions to destroy the vampire. Ellen's ambivalent feelings are suggested in her needlework as she stitches 'Ich liebe Dich'. Crosses are found both on the dunes where Ellen waits

longingly, and are associated with the plague when drawn with chalk on the doors of the dead.

The skeleton clock in Count Orlok's castle is a conspicuous prop which strikes at midnight two nights in a row, and the curtains in the sister's bedroom blow twice like the filled sails of Nosferatu's ship and the waves of the sea. A heightened supernatural atmosphere is achieved with the swinging props which are a motif in the ship's hold. The rocking hammock is seen twice; first with the dying sailor lying in it and later it is seen rocking as before, although empty, its motion emphasised by the swinging of a lamp or pulley in the opposite direction. These rhythmic movements are also reflected later in the ship's swinging lamp, discussed again below; the moving light reflection of the swinging lamp is seen during the investigation of the ship serves to increase the sense of uneasiness and tension.

4.2.2.2 Lighting

Lighting is in general logically motivated. The most prominent source of lighting is the use of natural light, both hard sunlight and soft diffusion. Bright, natural sunlight appropriately shines on Harding and his sister's light-hearted game of croquet and their descent over the dunes to the sea. Sunlight shines brightly off the coffins at the beginning of Act 5, and expressive sunlight on the long cobbled streets is used effectively to create graphic patterns of attached shadows. An extreme long shot of a street extending into the distance is seen first when Bulwer greets Hutter, with the rooftops creating jagged angular graphic patterns. Similarly, the long, deserted street in the town with the drummer boy is striking in its patterns of light and shadow, a shot repeated later with the same set-up when the deserted street is filled with the procession of coffins. Strongly contrasted patterns of sun and shadow occur in the archway of the castle courtyard from which Count

Orlak emerges. The Count and Hutter enter the blackened plane together and are seemingly engulfed together in the void.

Sunlight is not only shown to be a natural source, but is likewise simulated in the studio as in the 'sunlight', not realistically rendered, from the window which streams in on Hutter's face to awaken him at the inn. Lighting from the barred window in Knock's cell is another example, as is an early shot of Ellen with the kitten which is shot from outside the window, with no changing values in lighting in the next shot of Ellen carrying the kitten away from the window into the diffused light of the sitting room (Fig. 52).

Artificial sources of light are found both in exterior and interior shots. The scene with the lamplighter in Act 5 is given unusual prominence due to its extended duration, drawing the spectator's attention to this lighting source in particular. This shot begins in total darkness, and then is softly illuminated with the lighting of the streetlamp. Examples of significant interior lighting includes the lighting in the sister's bedroom at Harding's house; on two occasions a candle is positioned next to the bed with gusts of wind through the window depicted by using fluttering curtains. The second time the gust of wind extinguishes the lighted candle. The swinging lamp in the hold of the ship has been mentioned above, rendering an atmosphere which suggests the existence of some unearthly life form. An exceptionally dramatic and unrealistic use of interior lighting is demonstrated in the chiaroscuro of the point-of-view framing of Nosferatu seen by Hutter after opening his door. The strong side edge lighting from left is flattened with frontal lighting on Nosferatu as he slowly enters Hutter's room.

For a film with a horror theme which was made in Germany in the early 1920s, there are relatively few instances of conspicuous shadow effects and these are always motivated. After the vampire has drunk Hutter's blood, identically placed shadows on the castle fireplace tie Hutter to the Count in subtle parallelism; Hutter's frame casts a bold shadow, with the vampire's upcoming 'mirror image' emphasised when

Hutter takes out a mirror and looks into it in order to examine the two marks on his neck. The identical shadow image is seen shortly thereafter when the shadow of the Count's body is cast in precisely the same place.

Certain shadow effects are quite rightly very well known, as for example the shot of Nosferatu's shadow as he ascends the stairs to meet Ellen. What is significant is that this is an example of one of several cast shadows which indicate off-screen space; the viewer does not see the vampire, only the shadows he casts. The approaching attacks on both Hutter (Fig. 69) and Ellen are depicted with cast shadows of the vampire's hands over them. Ellen clutches her left breast while throwing herself onto the bed, the shadow tugging at her heart. Once the doors of the vampire's house open, seemingly by themselves as he exits his house, he is not seen again until he is leaning over Ellen, having drunk her blood. Therefore, the suspense surrounding his advance and attack are achieved completely with shadows, with the vampire occupying off-screen space. Later during Nosferatu's attack on the captain, the vampire moves left to right in front of the masts, continuing out of the frame but his shadow continues to move on the left. There is a cut to disbelief in the Captain's eyes, but Nosferatu is not shown. Shadows also indicate the swift change in command, with the 'death ship' now silhouetted. An apparently unintentional miscalculation can be noticed in the landscape shot of the small lake surrounded by towering mountains in that the shadow of what appears to be a human figure in the foreground is seen moving quickly out of the frame.

4.2.2.3 Costumes and Make-up

Nosferatu and his follower Knock stand apart from the other characters and the natural landscape in the choices made for their make-up as well as acting style. Although one is tall and lean and the other short and squat, Nosferatu and Knock exhibit similar features in their baldness, protruding ears, and bristly eyebrows, although the

exaggerated make-up of the vampire creates a much less human appearance. In particular, Count Orlak's rat-like teeth and long talons (Fig. 66) emphasise his predatory intentions. Although the vampire's features are terrifying, his clothing is quite elegant, befitting a 'count' and reflects his calm and deliberate manner, whereas Knock is dishevelled and unstable with the behaviour of a wild madman.

Hutter's heavy travel outfit and cape seem inappropriate for the climate, and add to his rather bulky form. His hair is often wild and unruly which reflects his impulsive manner, especially when compared to Harding's well-groomed, polished composure and appearance. Harding's apparel is the most refined, with his cape and top hat as well as his elegant dressing-gown denoting his status as a rich ship-owner.

Ellen's apparel is discrete and understated. Her black dress worn at the windy seaside reflects her distressed state of mind in that she is allied with the world of the graveyard and the crosses of those lost at sea. Through cross-cutting, her dark attire is contrasted with Harding's stylish apparel and his sister's pale dress which reflect the gaiety of their mood whilst playing a carefree game of croquet in the bright sunshine of Harding's garden (Fig. 55). Dr Sievers and Professor Bulwer are dressed according to their station, with Bulwer the Paracelsian more eccentrically dressed during his lectures. He is the eldest human character in the film and uses a cane.

4.2.2.4 Figure Behaviour

A contrast of body types is exhibited in the film in Count Orlak's thin, bony body with Hutter's soft and rounded figure. At their first meeting, Count Orlak holds his hands up in front of his chest like a rodent with Hutter seeming very much his prey. Hutter later reverts to animalistic behaviour as he scurries crab-like up the stairs in horror. Also exhibiting animalistic traits is Knock, whose extremely short, podgy body is used to imitate the movements of primates; he swings from a bar like a monkey and exhibits a hobbling manner of running during the

chase scene in Act 5. Knock also sits unconventionally on his heels in the cell as he waits patiently for the Master.

Whereas Nosferatu has a commanding presence, Hutter appears vulnerable, weak, and naïve. His actions are impulsive and childlike as he bolts and bumbles through situations. He reads the *Book of Vampires* twice at the inn and hurls it down, laughing. Hutter stands in front of the bedroom window as if to shield the frightened Ellen from the strange entity across the canal; he then backs up slowly, turns round and succumbs to an unknown power, collapsing on the bed. His ineptitude is so apparent that Ellen feels compelled to take the initiative. Her expression of resignation indicates how ineffectual she sees him to be and that she must persevere alone.

Ellen walks twice on the terrace; first on the railing in a sleepwalking motion with both arms extended which is viewed in part through a window, and later on the floor in front of the railing. On two occasions when attacks by Nosferatu on first Hutter and later herself seem evident, she sits up in bed with a start, seeming to feel the vampire's presence. As Hutter sleeps, she puts her left hand to her heart and walks with both arms extended to the window to see the vampire. Parallel gestures tie Ellen and Nosferatu together in death; Ellen clutches her left breast with her left hand as the vampire's shadow tugs at her heart, and similarly as he dies, the vampire puts his left hand to his heart as he dissipates into thin air.

The dramatic diagonal positioning of Hutter in the chair at the castle can also be found in Murnau's choices in favour of diagonal staging in depth, which is much more dynamic and frequent than in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. The confinement of space is explored as Hutter scurries backwards diagonally in depth after opening the coffin lid which exposes the sleeping vampire. He is blocked by the stone wall, then scuttles up the stairs at a perpendicular angle. An example of 'archaic depth' is visible in the scene in which Harding descends to the captain's quarters and walks deep in the recesses where he discovers

the ship's log. The wooden steps in the foreground to the left function in the same manner as furniture's role in the mid-1910s, serving in long takes as a point with which to reference a character's staging in depth. Later Nosferatu enters Hutter's room through the arched doorway and walks up several steps in the direction of the camera, thereby increasing his size to conform to the shape of the archway. This lingering on the slowly filled doorway occurs again at the end as Bulwer moves slowly into the centre of the doorway, blocking Hutter.

Vivid trajectories are achieved with staging, particularly through Hutter's movements in the castle. Before writing to Ellen, Hutter walks from the castle in depth straight towards the camera and passes it on the left, followed by a cut with Hutter now retreating into space as he enters the turret. Later Hutter walks from his room straight back in the large room of the castle, then turns right and walks out of the frame. Then there is a cut to a shot outdoors as he runs down the wooden stairs from right to left, the scene creating a complex, angular pattern. The angry mob's chase after Knock displays the dynamic movement of the crowd whose pursuit begins in the town, their paths creating perpendicular rather than diagonal patterns. Some of the film's lighter moments, such as the shot with the tree stump, are provided by Knock during the chase scene in which he leads the crowd through an intricate maze-like hunt through the streets which continues out in the countryside. In their fury, the crowd attacks a scarecrow in error and its destruction at their hands displays their intentions, underscoring not only the chase's graphic patterning but its narrative function as well.

Murnau's chooses similar staging within the same location to connect Hutter with the vampire. As Nosferatu carries his coffin, he passes the fountain with the brick half-timbered house in the background, following the same path as Hutter earlier when coming from Harding's house to mount his horse at the beginning of his journey to see the Count.

4.2.3 Cinematography

4.2.3.1 Photographic Elements

The film version under consideration from ZDF is both restored and tinted, recreating the original colours. Tinted green are the chronicle entries which comprise the framing story used to recount the report of the great plague; these are depicted in elaborate titles as would be found in documents of the 19th century. Also coloured green are the *Book of Vampires* and the Empusa document. Amber indicates daylight and interiors, and blue is darkness; a daylight amber shot of Hutter crying out to the coach driver to press on due to the rapidly sinking sun, is followed by a shot with blue toning of the carriage crossing the bridge. Likewise, the werewolf shots are toned blue which function to emphasis his activity solely at night. The contrast of colour is most evident when a gust of wind extinguishes the candle in Harding's sitting room where his ailing sister sits alone; the colour in the room changes quickly from amber to blue.

Colour variance of a different kind is achieved through the use of negative film to depict Hutter's ride in the Count's carriage through the forest (Fig. 83). The use of naturalistic photography is dominant; the film is shot in deep focus with the occasional use of trick photographic manipulation used for expressive purposes, as in the changing light and dark patterns in the valley with the small lake. This startling juxtaposition creates an uneasiness which was intentional and in most cases is found in the original script. The technique of negative footage is only used in the one instance in the forest, with undercranking, stop-motion, and superimposition occurring repeatedly throughout the film in conjunction with the presence of the vampire. When shots of Nosferatu's carriage are taken in the daylight, the shot is extremely undercranked causing accelerated motion, but normal speed is represented during the 13-second take in the processed negative shot in the forest. Oddly, an early scene of Hutter picking flowers from his

garden is undercranked, seen by the speeded-up blowing leaves. Likewise, the undercranking of the phantom carriage also results in the accentuated blowing of Hutter's cape as he stands at the side of the road.

Supernatural occurrences are also depicted with stop-motion, such as the vampire's rapid loading of coffins on the horse-drawn wagon which Hutter sees from his window. On the Empusa, canvas on the deck rolls away by itself and the hatch opens to allow the disembarkation of the vampire and the rats, and later Nosferatu emerges from his Wisborg house with doors that open automatically, all effects achieved using stop-motion.

Superimposition is a standard device in portraying spectres, apparitions, and phantoms, and indeed, it is chosen by Murnau to represent the annihilation of the vampire. The device is first used on the Empusa when the sailor sees the superimposed figure of Nosferatu sitting on the coffin in the ship's hold; this diaphanous image is suggested by the fumes from the captain's pipe which creates a cloud of ephemeral smoke that lingers in the air near the coffins just before the vampire is seen there by the sailor. Nosferatu later disappears with his coffin through the wooden door of his Wisborg house, an image which resembles Bulwer's reference to the polyp in his demonstration; a transparent form, almost without substance, like a phantom. Phantom-like behaviour is also rendered by Nosferatu lying on a flat board which rises up 90 degrees in full view of the ship's first mate; this is however not a trick shot but an element of the mise en scène, as a rat can be seen moving naturally in the lower right corner of the frame.

4.2.3.2 Framing

The location shooting of natural settings includes extreme long shots of the Carpathian mountains and valley, but generally speaking the film contains primarily long shots, with some medium shots, and very few close-ups, such as of the Venus fly-trap and the polyp. The

vampire is shown most often in long shot, with the exception of the medium close-up of Nosferatu intercut between shots of the reunited Hutter and Ellen.

There are more angle shots than are typical for an early Murnau film, motivated not only by the position of the castle situated high on a hill, but also the ship's hold in relation to the sails and sky. The film contains spectacular shots achieved with the camera in a second boat approaching the ship, which capture expressive framing angles of the ship at sea, in for example, the well-executed rotating shot. The ship is seen from numerous low angles which emphasise its mast, including the low angle shot of Nosferatu standing above the hatch, and later climbing out of it. During the chase scene in the town, the low-angle framing of Knock on the roof accentuates the height of the row of houses; this is followed by a high-angle shot which does not realistically depict Knock's point of view from the rooftops down to the crowds in the street. Examples of even more extreme high-angle framings include shots from the castle to the distant image of the passing rider, from Hutter's bedroom window at the castle straight down to the abyss, and from the edge of the cliff to the raft carrying the coffins downstream. The three high-angle framings of the long Wisborg street are shot in deep focus and natural light; two extreme long shots portray the approaching messenger with his drum, and later a third extreme long shot of the procession of coffins indicates this as Ellen's point of view from her window, with a round mask and the window's glazing-bar included in the framing.

Round masks are used to isolate various elements, and this device is particularly effective in creating an image of Ellen which parallels her portrait in the locket, the similarity being most striking as she sits near the sea. The locket initially creates the Count's desire for Ellen and is the motivation for his purchase of the neighbouring house; the function of the mask encircling Ellen which recreates the locket's image is strengthened by its occurrence as she waits longingly at the seaside, a

scene intercut with the approaching ship. Round masks are also used for the entire drummer proclamation sequence.

Intrusion into the frame occurs on several occasions, with the Empusa entering the harbour and the rowboat into the shot of deserted buildings. A clearly accidental intrusion of a flat object such as a script or clapboard into the frame occurs in Hutter's room at the inn prior to the first appearance of the *Book of Vampires*. There is little mobile framing and it occurs most prominently in the two pans of the Carpathian mountains, first from left to right and five minutes later from right to left. The first appearance of the Empusa is shot from another boat, both towards each other with the effect being slightly similar to a modern zoom. Reframing occurs only occasionally, for example, to keep the moving carriage in the shot during Hutter's initial journey.

4.2.3.3 Shot Duration

There is shorter shot duration here than is typical, particularly when compared with *Der Gang in die Nacht*. The individual takes during the cross-cutting sequence in which the parallel journeys unfold in Act 3 are curiously no shorter than in other parts of the film, with an average shot length of approximately 9 seconds. The shots of the Empusa, for example, range from 5 to 21 seconds. There are no long takes in *Nosferatu* of the type seen in *Der Gang in die Nacht* and *Der brennende Acker*.

4.2.4 Editing

The editing choices made for *Nosferatu* are amongst the most interesting and inventive found in Murnau's films. In keeping with his strong preference for the clarity which analytical editing promotes, this film in general relies upon the scene breakdown of an establishing shot, closer shots, and a final re-establishing shot. Exceptions do occur, however, in several sequences which take place in Hutter's house. After

a bird's-eye view of the town, the film begins with Hutter looking in a mirror as he adjusts his tie, after which he looks out a window of his rather bare room at Ellen, who is leaning out a different window and playing with a kitten. Hutter picks flowers in the garden, and then enters the room where Ellen now sits doing needlework. No establishing shot has been used, resulting in a certain disorientation for the viewer. Likewise, Ellen enters the sparse room as Hutter is packing to leave, but its relative location is not disclosed. Their reunion upon his return is also segmented with a cut from the extreme long shot in front of the house to a medium shot of a sofa in an undefined location in the house. There are several other examples, but in general, *Nosferatu* does follow the clear cutting patterns indicative of analytical editing.

The film is, however, quite unique in its more abstracted cross-cutting which occurs not at the end, but two-thirds through the film beginning with the joint travels of Nosferatu and Hutter. The impending danger for the town of Wisborg stated in the diary entry is further elaborated upon by the cross-cutting sequences of Professor Bulwer and Knock. As Bulwer presents to his students the Venus fly-trap's ability to ensnare a fly, the imprisoned Knock grabs a fly in the air and swallows it. Bulwer then presents the polyp which entraps its prey, followed by Knock's excitement in the presence of Sievers and the attendant at a spider attacking its victim in the web.

Not only is a rhythmical pattern established, but suspense is also greatly increased during the cross-cutting of the travelling sequences in Acts 3 and 4 through the use of shots of the ship and the ship's waves. These complex editing patterns occur at the beginning of Act 4 in which various shots of the silhouette of the death ship, its bobbing prow, and the waves it creates are intercut with shots of the pounding surf on the shoreline and the breeze blowing the curtains in the sister's bedroom. A series of shared angles foreshadow the inevitable encounter; Ellen walks as in a trance in depth towards the terrace railing with her arms extended, a movement reflected in the ship's prow similarly penetrating

the screen's depth. After proclaiming the ambiguous statement, 'I must go to him', she runs out of Harding's house at a diagonal angle from left to right, followed immediately by a cut to the vampire's ship advancing at the same diagonal angle from right to left. This is made even more intricate later during the simultaneous arrival of Hutter and the vampire; as Hutter approaches from left to right, there is a cut to Nosferatu carrying his coffin and walking right to left at the same angle, thus strengthening both the parallel narrative action and their mutual desire. Ellen is, one supposes, in the middle. She in then reunited with Hutter, but as mentioned above, their kisses are intercut with a medium close-up shot of Nosferatu's ominous smiling face.

There are a number of match-on-action shots, some more successfully rendered than others. In accordance with classical continuity, there is a correct match on action as Hutter awakens in front of the fireplace and seeing a sumptuous buffet on the table, runs to it. However, a sequence early in the film showing Hutter with flowers in hand running to hug Ellen is an example of a match on action not smoothly rendered. There is also an awkward match on action after Hutter opens the coffin of the sleeping vampire, then scurries backwards to the stone steps, creating an extreme long shot in depth. It is then mismatched with a long shot of Hutter clumsily working his way up the stairs on hands and feet.

The most well-known eyeline match covers different spatial relations: fearing the Hutter is in danger, Ellen cries out 'Hutter!', extending her arms towards the left of the frame in Act 2 and Nosferatu turns to his right seemingly in response, stops as if listening intently, and leaves. There is a cut back to Ellen, who now appears exhausted and less agitated. This appropriation of sight lines and of contrasting planes or spaces can also be found in the first appearance of the werewolf, or rather hyena, and the subsequent eyeline-matched reaction of the frightened horses. Very shortly thereafter, there are cuts between the werewolf, nervous horses, and the peasants who react with the same

fear as the horses. At the inn, the innkeeper speaks of the werewolf, after which there is a cut to the werewolf and then the group of skittish horses; the next morning, however, they are playful and romping in the bright sunshine.

As was the case in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, various seemingly random shots of landscape, water, and cloud formations are inserted, again reflecting characters' moods and creating tension. There is an odd insert of moonlit water when Ellen is standing on Harding's terrace at the beginning of Act 4, which could be understood as being a point-of-view shot covering disparate spatial planes. Another cut connects waves crashing to shore from right to left with Ellen reaching out as if to embrace them, arms extended and facing to the right of the frame.

There are numerous examples of point-of-view cutting and they seem to be rather equally distributed amongst the characters. Knock and Hutter look out the office window at the gabled houses. Upon Hutter's arrival at the castle in Nosferatu's carriage, there is a point-of-view shot of the castle tower with birds, and as he later stands at the entrance of the castle, his view is shown as the coach turns back and retreats in the same odd, jerky manner as it arrived. There is a point-of-view shot of Hutter looking in the mirror at the two bites on his neck. That evening, Hutter's point-of-view of the standing Nosferatu is an extreme long shot, which then cuts to a closer long shot of the same image which is not Hutter's point-of-view. Hutter's view of the sleeping vampire is a slight mismatch in that the point-of-view shot of Nosferatu through the broken boards of the coffin is shot from the right side, whereas Hutter approaches from the left. There are point-of-view shots attributed to the feverish sailor who sees the apparition of Nosferatu sitting on a coffin, and later the first mate as he sees Nosferatu rise up on the flat board. Knock's point-of-view is depicted from the roof watching the crowd below, however, there is no point-of-view shot from the crowd's perspective; arbitrary long and close-up shots of Knock on the roof are chosen instead.

Perhaps the most well-known point-of-view shot is that of Ellen's view of the procession of coffins through the window, with a dark round mask and the expressive inclusion of the window glazing-bar. The same point-of-view set-up without the glazing-bar and mask is used earlier in the shots of the boy with the drum announcing the proclamation in an otherwise deserted street; although occurring at different narrative times, the two shots display identically cast shadows. Ellen was under the care of Harding and his sister, therefore although later known to be the vantage from her window, this shot is without a point-of-view reference. This shot additionally serves to foreshadow Ellen's fate through the link with the procession of death she later views from the window. The only point-of-view shots which are clearly Nosferatu's are his view of the locket containing Ellen's portrait on the table and his low-angle view of his house in Wisborg as he stands before the large wooden door.

There is an unrealistic point-of-view shot of Knock watching the ship as it approaches the harbour. Hutter's point of view is also unrealistic at the inn upon his arrival; he looks out the window of his room and 'sees' the werewolf, the frightened horses, and even the women covering their ears, which perhaps was not intended as part of this series of point-of-view shots. Hutter then shuts the window and shivers unconsciously. More conventional is his view from his room of an abyss which is shown as a point-of-view shot just prior to Nosferatu's attack, making clear that Hutter is confined to the room with little chance of escape.

The cut of Harding and his sister on the dunes calling out to Ellen sitting on the bench at the shore contains a correct sightline match, but when they are gathered at the bench, the cut to Ellen facing right crosses the 180° line and is quite disconcerting. Even more strongly pronounced is the incorrect eyeline match of Knock in his cell with Sievers and the attendant, which is used twice and which in addition crosses the 180° line. The earliest example of crossing the 180° line

occurs with Knock's reading of the cryptic letter; the viewer sees the letter over Knock's right shoulder rather than his left. Other examples of crossing the line are the Count's view of Hutter's bloody thumb and again as he backs Hutter up against the fireplace. The line is crossed twice during the voyage of the Empusa, once while the crew is still alive, and again after the death of the captain. The editing patterns which are created during crowd's pursuit of Knock are coupled with depth staging and are quite dynamic, with one unexpected cut which crosses the line; the attack of the scarecrow by the crowd juxtaposes the direction of the crowd from behind the tree from left to right, with the next shot showing their approaching the scarecrow from right to left.

Not only is the film intricately distended with cross-cutting and the use of other spatial relations, it is also creative in its use of varied temporal relations. As mentioned above in the discussion of narrative form, the film is considered a chronicle of the plague, with the entire depicted story taking place much earlier in time as a flashback. The spectator is kept aware of the historical recounting through the interspersed repetitive use of first-person recollections from the inserted pages of a diary.

Elliptical editing is used to convey the passage of time which transpires during Hutter's journey to the castle, as well as the intricate cross-cutting sequences which comprise the two journeys to Wisborg. Ellipses are present, for example, from the time Nosferatu is in the coffin pulled by horses to the shot of the coffins stacked on the raft being steered down the river. The annihilation of the Empusa's crew is achieved with an intertitle stating that all the ship's sailors succumbed to the same fate as the first victim. An effective use of elliptical editing occurs most noticeably in the absence of Nosferatu's attack on the Captain. There is merely disbelief in the Captain's eyes, followed by an intertitle stating the presence of a new captain.

Notes to *Nosferatu. Eine Symphonie des Grauens*

[1] For complete filmographical information, see *Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau*, Reihe Film 43, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1990, p. 221.
[2] 'Kaum hatte Hutter die Brücke überschritten, da ergriffen ihn die unheimlichen Gesichte, von denen er mir oft erzählt hat.' In the diary entries concerning the flesh-eating plants and polyp is mentioned 'Der Paracelsianer Professor Bulwer … erzählte mir darüber', and regarding Dr Sievers, 'Der Arzt berichtete mir von Ellens Angst wie von einer unbekannten Krankheit.'
[3] Harding's sister, named Ruth in some versions [for the actress Ruth Landshoff perhaps] and referred to as Anny in the original script, is assumed to be a victim of the plague, particularly in light of a following scene omitted in the film of a distraught Harding drawing a cross on his door. See scenes 138 and 142 of the original script of *Nosferatu* in Eisner's *Murnau*, pp. 264-265.
[4] Scene 11 of the original script indicates that Hutter arrives home from the office with Ellen seeing him from the window of her room as he arrives. Rather than entering her room as the script indicates, the film shows Hutter emerging from her room. See Eisner's *Murnau*, p. 237.
[5] See scene 136 in Eisner's *Murnau*, p. 264.

4.3 *Der brennende Acker*, F.W. Murnau, 1921/22

Goron-Film for Deulig-Film GmbH, Berlin, Sascha Goron, producer.
A drama in six acts, censored length 2651 metres, shortened to 2645.50 metres.
Original Story and Script: Willy Haas, Thea von Harbou, Arthur Rosen
Sets: Rochus Gliese
Camera: Fritz Arno Wagner, Karl Freund

Der brennende Acker was filmed from late 1921 to February 1922 on location at the villa and park at Teltow, near Neubabelsberg, the Bornstedter Feld near Potsdam, and at the Jofa-Atelier, Berlin-Johannisthal. The first screenings took place 3 March 1922 at the Waterloo, Hamburg; a closed screening for Verein Berliner Presse on 8 March 1922 at the Marmorhaus, Berlin; and the formal première at the Marmorhaus, Berlin on 9 March 1922.

This film was long thought to be non-extant, but was discovered in Italy in 1978 amongst the estate property of a deceased Catholic priest. It was restored at Cineteca Italiana by Vittorio Martinelli, Milano, and brought to Germany by Enno Patalas, Münchner Stadtmuseum and Filmmuseum. It was there that the Italian intertitles were replaced with German ones which followed the filmscript held by Murnau's niece. After locating an original censor's copy from 25 February 1922 containing the authentic wording of all of the intertitles, the texts and the inserts were updated. The colours of the original virage nitrate copy were sent to the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv in Koblenz, which was responsible for replicating the colours in accordance with the original tinted copy. The colouring process was satisfactorily completed in September 1993 and the newly restored copy was screened by the Murnau-Gesellschaft on 10 October 1993 at the Capitol cinema in Bielefeld, the birthplace of Murnau and home of the Murnau-Gesellschaft. The film was shown on German television on ZDF in 1995.[1]

Der brennende Acker is the 11th of Murnau's 21 films and the 4th of those which at present are currently known to be extant. This film has often been thought to be the first in a group of three Murnau films

referred to as 'Bauernfilme', which includes *Die Austreibung* and *Sunrise*. This grouping can also preferably be seen to include the earlier *Marizza, gennant die Schmugglermadonna* (1920/21) as well as Murnau's last Hollywood film entitled *Our Daily Bread* (1929), which was rereleased the following year as *City Girl*. *Der brennende Acker* is also the first of four successive films in which Murnau would work together with Thea von Harbou, *Phantom* (1922), *Die Austreibung* (1923), and *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* (1923) being the other three.

In a promotional advertisement for the film in *Deulig-Scala Nachrichten,* mention is made of a visit to Berlin by Mauritz Stiller which included a visit to the filming of *Der brennende Acker* at the Jofa-Atelier. The article states that he was present during the filming process and was able to observe the sets, Murnau's direction, and the performances. A stated admirer of Murnau, Stiller's praise for the film was exuberant, declaring that this simple yet psychologically profound artwork relates to the core of his own views and conception of film.[2]

The opening titles refer to *Der brennende Acker* as 'Das Drama eines Ehrgeizigen', an attribution which indeed applies to the ardently ambitious motives of the young protagonist, Johannes Rog (Wladimir Gaidarow). When Johannes arrives from the city minutes after his father's (Werner Krauss) death at the farm where Johannes was born, he chooses not to continue the farming tradition of his father and older brother Peter (Eugen Klöpfer), but rather takes a position in the large neighbouring villa as secretary to Count Rudenburg[3] (Eduard von Winterstein). Gerda (Lya de Putti), the Count's daughter by his first marriage, is engaged to the similarly aristocratic Ludwig von Lellewel (Albert Abel), but ignores him in favour of a flirtation with Johannes. As secretary, Johannes happens to overhear a conversation in which the Count learns in confidence from his scientific advisor that the family chronicle is correct and under his 'cursed' piece of land called the Teufelsacker are rich petroleum reserves. When the dying Count dictates a new will which leaves the villa and other valuables to his

daughter and the seemingly worthless Teufelsacker to his much younger second wife Helga (Stella Arbenina), Johannes sees his opportunity to gain possession of the reserves and exploit it for immense profit.

Upon the Count's death, Johannes marries the adoring Helga and as soon as the petroleum is ready, he makes arrangements to build a refinery and lease it to a group of eager investors for millions of Marks. Concurrently, Helga unwittingly sells the supposedly worthless Teufelsacker to her brother-in-law Peter for 12 thousand Marks. Johannes's fury at this discovery convinces Helga of his true motives for marrying her, and she drowns herself in despair. Gerda hopes that Johannes's disinterest in Helga is on her account, and with the promise of untold riches she throws herself at him, but is rejected by a distraught Johannes who now realises the fruits of his greedy behaviour. In an act of revenge, Gerda sets fire to the Teufelsacker[4], and a repentant Johannes returns to the farm, his forgiving brother, and the farm-maid Maria who loves him and has always kept hope alive for his return.

Various themes are addressed in the film such as the more obvious ones dealing with social standing and class distinctions. The Roghof's proximity to Count Rudenburg's villa has made Johannes keenly aware of the class differences. There are also the more general themes of greed and the corrupting power of money, which are contrasted with the solid, simple values which the farm and its workers embody.

4.3.1 Narrative Form

The narrative is built around two strong parallel structures, the static parallel construction which notes similarities and the parallel construction of replacement in which parallel situations serve to drive the narrative forward. The narrative opposition balances the two settings of the farm and villa, or more precisely, the farmers and aristocracy, with bourgeois investors occupying the centre position. Also contrasted

are two brothers with different views of the world. Peter is a farmer, which entails a cyclical pattern of life which includes planting and harvesting; he warns Johannes that bread is a sacred thing. Johannes is a risk-taker, whose goals can be reached at the expense of others.

The entire film is formed by a principle of parallelism which is prevalent in almost every sequence.[5] The static parallel construction is evidenced in situations that are also invariably presented with correlating circumstances which parallel the action. In determining the value of the Teufelsacker, there is a transaction between Helga and Peter, and Peter puts the bill of sale in a safe. Helga receives her asking price of 12,000 Marks which she puts in a drawer. Simultaneously, Johannes signs a contract with investors for exploitation rights worth 25 million Marks. Another example is the parallel discovery of the burning of the Teufelsacker; first Maria is shown seeing the fire, then the butler from the villa. A subtle but interesting parallel is found in an unexpected mutual desire which both Johannes and Peter share. Both brothers simultaneously attempt and succeed in entering into business transactions which thwart the intentions of the 'city businessmen', Peter through denying them the potential opportunity to purchase the land, a comment which he makes to Helga during their transaction, and Johannes through his firm withholding of the sale of the Teufelsacker and allowing the investors only the leasing rights.

The farm versus villa also reflects stability versus impulse. Peter does not drive the narrative, he simply 'exists'. He is as solid and reliable as farming itself in which the seasons come and go. This can be compared with Helga's statement when standing in front of the Teufelsacker, 'One day like the next'. This is predictability which the upper-class Helga rebuffs. Helga belongs to the 'new', younger aristocracy and sees beyond class boundaries and considers Johannes to be a suitable replacement for the Count. Unlike Johannes, who spurns his intended companion Maria, the aristocratic Helga does not

disregard those of a lower station, as shown in her desire to see the Alte Rog, and her kind attention to the working women in the spinning room.

Pairing is prevalent and functions as the parallel construction of replacement: Gerda and Lellewel, Gerda and Johannes (first riding, then after Helga's death), Johannes and Helga, Peter and Maria (first the proposal at the stove, then holding hands at the fire [the linking to each other to be replaced with Maria holding Johannes's hand in front of the windmill, leading him back home]), Maria and Johannes (which fulfils the Alte Rog's wish on his deathbed), and finally, the brothers Johannes and Peter (the reconciliation).

The characters display active and passive qualities. It is Johannes who acts as the driving force, motivating events through his greed and self-interest and, in turn, propelling the narrative. His brother Peter Rog is generally passive but defends the farm. Their dying father hopes that Johannes will decide to marry Maria and sustain the traditions and continuity of the Roghof. Maria is passive, often distraught, and the long-suffering farm-maid. Count Rudenburg, like Johannes, is also greedy and Helga, his second wife who is rebuffed by both the Count and Johannes, suffers passively, but makes choices in selling the Teufelsacker and choosing to die. She commands no respect from her step-daughter Gerda, who is selfish, spoiled, greedy, and in many ways Johannes's counterpart. Gerda is engaged to the passive Ludwig von Lellewel, Gerda's social equal whose love she takes for granted.

These passive and active characters create various causal patterns and systems. The death of the Alte Rog brings Johannes home from the city. Gerda's suggestion moves Johannes to the villa, where the Count's will spurs Johannes's calculated ambitions. Helga's death causes him to reconsider his selfish attitude and behaviour, which Gerda's destruction of the Teufelsacker only confirms, and Peter's and Maria's forgiveness assure his grateful acceptance of his rightful place back at the Roghof.

The legend of the Teufelsacker is depicted in three different ways: through the Count's family chronicle, through dialogue intertitles, and through the flashback which is rendered visually. As the Count reads the chronicle, and the older maid in the spinning room[6] relays the story of the Teufelsacker which is illustrated through the flashback, the account is both diegetic and mimetic. The flashback provides the legend's background information and explains the 'curse' and avoidance of the Teufelsacker by local people, e.g., Johannes's driver. There is no flashforward, but foreshadowing exists in the Alte Rog's dying comment that Johannes belongs with Maria, as well as the curse of the Teufelsacker which comes to fruition. Also prevalent in the film is immediate foreshadowing; dialogue intertitles are used throughout the film to convey information which is quickly confirmed or reaffirmed visually in the following shot, such as in the sequence concerning Gerda and Johannes riding together. Helga also says that word of their rides together is circulating. The riding sequence evokes gossiping and humorous moments, such as the salesman belching and reaching for another drink, and the bags of feathers in the farmhouse. However, the dejection in both Maria's and Helga's faces is emphasised by close-up shots and circular masks. The one character with restricted knowledge is Lellewel, who is kept in a state of uncertainty until the end and is not shown to have the knowledge that the viewer has.

The film is divided into six acts and with the exception of one expository title each at the beginning of Acts 4 and 5, the remaining are exclusively dialogue intertitles. Narrative information is provided and revealed primarily through the characters' dialogue intertitles. The two expository titles function additionally as a narrative device to compress time, e.g., 'Die zweite Ehe' at the beginning of Act 4. Thus, the death of the Count is omitted, as well as a suitable passage of time and the eventual wedding of Helga and Johannes. The opening title of Act 5 also condenses the return of Johannes from the city, self-congratulatory at his newly acquired power and money.

Inserts include text from various documents such as the chronicle, written notes, and the will. These are all upper-class references, with the exception of Peter's suggestion to put the sale of the Teufelsacker in writing, perhaps because of Helga. He does not bother to sign anything when conducting business with the local tradesman.

4.3.2 Mise en scène

4.3.2.1 Settings and Props

The film balances two settings, the juxtaposition of the elegant stone villa and warm half-timbered farm which is further emphasised with the photographic effects of tinting. The villa and farm are polarised; in the diegesis they lie very near to each other geographically, but Murnau does not show a clear relationship. They remain untouched by one another. A scene late in Act 6 in which Johannes, Maria, and the butler stand at a wrought-iron fence could perhaps state the proximity of the villa to the farm, but the relation remains ambiguous. The film begins with a cold, windy view of the villa's exterior arches, and concludes with Johannes's warm, homely room in the farmhouse.

A remarkable use of deep space composition is displayed throughout the film, both constructed and in natural settings. One thinks, in particular, of the striking setting chosen for the view of the farm in the background behind Maria carrying the buckets when greeting Johannes. The interior sets, in particular, exhibit quite intricate patterns of corridors and stairs which induce depth and are constructed at varying levels.

The central interior set used in the villa features the fireplace which serves as an anchor for the various levels and flights of stairs, a set which benefits to a great extent from the framing which exaggerates the diagonal proportions. The main room in the farmhouse displays a large table which is placed lengthwise and thus elongates the room. Doors and windows are prominent in both the villa and the farm, and

are frequently exploited by various characters in order to further the narrative.

Arches, arched openings, and vaulted ceilings are pervasive throughout the villa scenes in *Der brennende Acker*, an element which remains so closely associated with Count Orlok and his castle in the earlier discussed *Nosferatu*. In the opening scene of *Der brennende Acker*, exterior arches of the Rudenburg villa are shown, followed by the arched set design in the spinning room. There are numerous pivotal scenes or shots placed in front of arched windows, such as the arches in Johannes's study/library in which the window shape echoes the archway into the adjoining room. It is here that he first contemplates gaining Helga's favour in order to gain possession of the Teufelsacker, and where he later confesses his purely greedy motives to Gerda. There is an additional instance of double arches on the left of the interior of Lellewel's villa in Act 6 when he receives Gerda's note. As seen below in the discussion of framing, masks with arched shapes are also chosen to echo this pervasive motif. Even figure behaviour is used to express arched shapes, as when Helga sits quietly at the window with her rounded back following the curve of the large window.

The windows in the villa are very large and arch dramatically. Despite cold and snow, Gerda, after reading the letter from Lellewel, visualises him arriving in a carriage as she peers through a window covered with frost. She decidedly crumples the letter and throws it out the window; Helga then opens the door to Gerda's room, causing the adjacent window to close. Shortly thereafter at the end of Act 1, Johannes is in the same position in front of the farmhouse window. This functions as a foreshadowing mechanism which ties the two together, in that both Gerda and Johannes feel stifled and long to escape the older authoritative powers.

The farmhouse windows are square, rather than arched. At the end of Act 5, Peter chastises the onlookers who are peering through the windows covered with frost, as well as those coming through the door.

At the end of Act 6, Johannes looks in through a frosty window and sees his brother and the workers assembled.

Props are used in order to develop the characters more fully. Maria is invariably depicted as a conscientious worker, both inside the farmhouse and out. She is never idle and continually busies herself, tidying up, cleaning, carrying buckets and piles of wood. Other props include Peter's pipe which he smokes throughout the financial transaction, and the Count's cane which emphasises his age.

Inanimate objects also play a symbolic role. The note which Gerda receives from Lellewel signifies oppression to her. She flings it out the window and feeling its absence, she revels in the cool, fresh air. The hand support hanging over the bed of the Alte Rog continues to swing back and forth after his demise, a device which was also used by Murnau on the ship carrying Nosferatu and the dead crew into the harbour. The empty bowl on the farmhouse table signifies Johannes's absence, and the bread which he breaks apart is symbolic of the values which Peter holds sacred. The boughs which Maria brings to Johannes's room and the wound cuckoo clock (Fig. 25) represent her yearning and hope for his return. The bird cage containing the caged bird functions not as a restriction, but as a reflection of Peter's closeness to nature, as well as his contentment with his small, contained world, which contrasts with Johannes's boast of experiencing the big world and all that life has to offer.

Although the setting is contemporary for 1921, as evidenced by the clothing fashions and hairstyles, the mode of human transport used is exclusively horse and carriage. The riding excursions of Gerda and Johannes play an important role in signifying the use of horses for pleasure, whereas Peter's stable worker asks whether he should harness up the white horse or the chestnut horse, thus emphasising the dependency of farmers on horses for their livelihood.

4.3.2.2 Lighting

Each scene throughout the film displays bright, flat facial key lighting; unmotivated frontal lighting is predominant, which results in facial features often displaying few attached shadows. Sunlight through windows is, at times, a motivation for strong lighting, as seen in the backlighting in Johannes's study that causes his silhouette (Fig. 60). The sun also creates a dramatic horizontal shadow which Helga follows to the left along a line of trees.

The stylised lighting and shadows which fall on the cross at the Teufelsacker, motivated by the hand-held lantern, appear exaggerated, and the unrealistic lighting seems at odds with the lighting choices made for the rest of the film. Lighting sources other than the sun are not often shown, but there are lighted candles in Johannes's study, and a lantern flickers in the snow when hitching up the horses to take Johannes to meet the investors. The lamp over the table in the farmhouse causes realistic shadows to fall on the workers when Johannes strides into the room during the scene of the death of his father.

4.3.2.3 Costumes and Make-up

Contemporary dress for 1921 is chosen for the film. There is a display of wealth which is particularly evident in the elegant clothes of Gerda, Helga, and even Johannes's fine leather gloves and coat with fur collar. Gerda's very fashionable clothes contrast with Helga's sedately dark, conservative mode of dress. Gerda displays clothes for various occasions, wearing an elaborate brocade cape for lounging, full riding attire, and a shiny skirt with a long string of beads and large dangling earrings. Helga wears several subdued dresses which appear very similar to one another.

Peter's clothes never vary and he appears in one set of clothes, a dark jacket with bright buttons and a belt with a large square buckle,

typical of peasant attire. He wears his hat inside the house, but removes it upon Helga's arrival as a sign of respect. Peter's unkempt hair and loose jacket and trousers are contrasted with Johannes's attention to grooming, seen in his fine clothes and smart appearance. Quite thick pancake makeup is seen on Johannes, Helga, Gerda, and Maria, whereas Peter and Lellewel appear more naturally.

4.3.2.4 Figure Behaviour

Der brennende Acker displays a dynamic use of space due to the direction of staging. The figures traverse the frame in all directions, at times abruptly changing course and defining new spatial arrangements. Figures passing the camera tend to approach and leave on the left, as in the investor/butler off-screen long take which is discussed below, and the farm labourers going outside to look at the burning Teufelsacker. The strong diagonal lines caused by the particular use of camera framing, discussed below, are emphasised by the depth-inducing diagonal figure movement. Diagonal movements dominate, but also prevalent are horizontal figure clusters as in the spinning room, and the unique instance at the soirée of four figures seemingly strung on a line, interacting in pairs.

However, not all movement is diagonal or from side to side. Quite striking to the modern eye is the sustained figure movement towards the camera, which was privileged by Murnau so often in *Der Gang in die Nacht*. This can be well illustrated by the early instance of the Count walking from his office door to the table. It is only then that there is a cut to a medium shot. When Johannes arrives at the farmhouse, he strides in through the door and continues briskly towards his father's bedroom door, a straight motion directly towards the camera. In Act 6, the workers finishing a day's work at the oil derrick are seen making their way towards the camera in a screen time of 11 seconds. They seem to follow a straight trajectory from the derrick towards the off-screen

space to the right of the camera. However, the workers change course unexpectedly and walk off screen to the left of the camera and behind it.

A shot closely follows which is an intricate long take of 40 seconds displaying a use of off-screen space which is unique in this film. The group of investors has arrived at the villa expecting to meet with Johannes. The head investor of the group guides the fluid movement which exploits the variations in the fireplace set-up mentioned above. The head investor and two others create a grouping of three at the fireplace. Three other investors walk together from the fireplace to space in the far left corner where others in the group are standing. The head investor turns to look at them, which directs the viewer's attention to the left of the screen. The investor then paces around and turns right to talk with the original group. He then looks to the left of the camera into off-screen space and addresses someone unseen. The butler appears from behind the left side of the camera, they converse quickly, and the butler walks straight back towards the stairs. In these 40 seconds, Murnau has created an elaborate play of articulated space which could not be achieved with the same intensity or sense of expectation through editing.

Carriages and wagons are also used effectively to transport people directly towards the camera. The horse and carriage which brings Helga's dead body to the farm at the end of Act 5 runs parallel along the long expanse of the farm buildings in a fluid motion towards the camera. By far the most strikingly executed shot is that of the horses and carriages bringing the investors to the villa in Act 6. This long take of 26 seconds exquisitely frames the curved tree-lined path along which the carriages are seen coming through the deep snow from right to left, then turn a sharp 90 degrees to continue their approach directly towards the camera (Fig. 51). The perspective attained through the large, imposing trees in the foreground accentuates the distance travelled and is a remarkably dynamic use of depth staging.

The acting is impressively subtle, however, on rare occasions it takes the form of a stylised tableau. Two cases of this seem particularly striking and both are composed to the left of the stove in the farmhouse. The first is the stylised tableau at the end of Act 5 after Helga's body is brought in, and later the final scene of Johannes's repentance and reconciliation with Peter which is enclosed by the rigid, unmoving figures of Maria and the Alte Magd. Maria's dropping of the wood and her frozen posture with outstretched hands in Act 5 is also stylised, which intensifies the dramatic handling of the pivotal situation.

Certain gestures and facial expressions are tied to particular individuals. The Count with the cane shuffles at times to emphasize his age, and moves rather briskly on other occasions, e.g., his inspection of the Teufelsacker. Johannes has a strong intensity, an anger that he redirects with a single-minded purpose. He never smiles, but does appear slightly more pleased with himself when Gerda suggests that he should contact her father and when Johannes shrewdly deals with the investors to his benefit.

Peter is calm and level-headed except in altercations with Johannes; in the first instance, Peter grabs Johannes's collar, a gesture of coarse physicality at which Johannes appears affronted and reacts with gentility, thus gaining the upper hand. In the second instance, Peter wants nothing more to do with Johannes immediately before Helga's body is carried in. As Peter sits next to Johannes on the bench, he moves slightly away from his brother in disgust at learning how Johannes knew about the petroleum reserves.

Helga appears in a state of perpetual suffering, with eyes frequently downcast. Her back is often slumped to indicate her despair. Gerda is cruel and sarcastic, and laughs sardonically at Lellewel and Helga. When riding with Johannes, she also belittles Maria's heartfelt feelings for him, indirectly communicating to Johannes the assurance that Gerda views him as her social equal. While clearly not the case, they do indeed share the same haughty and selfish character traits.

Maria raises her right hand to shade her eyes against the sun on two different occasions; firstly, as she holds the buckets and greets Johannes, and secondly, as she stands with the dog after Gerda and Johannes ride past her. There is also a stylised position of Maria on two occasions in a frozen position with her right hand to her forehead, her face to the wall, and back to the camera: after Helga's body is brought in, and the burning of the Teufelsacker as the farm labourers pass through the doorway.

The viewer's eye is directed to elements of the film's mise en scène through the sightlines of various figures. Peter and Maria look at Johannes who sits in front of the oven, isolated from the rest of the group, which directs the viewer's eye to a depth composition of Johannes. The device of blocking and revealing is well-executed as Maria rises from the farmhouse table, blocking Johannes's entrance with her back towards him but facing the camera, her unease and trepidation clearly visible to the film audience whose view is now fixed on her position; she soon moves to the side to reveal Johannes's static position in depth framed in the doorway.

4.3.3 Cinematography

4.3.3.1 Photographic Elements

The original colour tones have been successfully duplicated in the viewed version in which a tinting process was used, a technique in which the developed positive print is dipped into a bath of dye, and the lighter areas of the film absorb the colour. Rose-coloured tones are seen at the soirée and at the Alte Rog's deathbed, but two colour variations dominate in *Der brennende Acker*. The first are the warm, brownish-amber tones which are used for indoor scenes exclusively in the farmhouse, and at times inside the villa, as in the early scene with the Count reading the chronicle. The warm tones are also used outdoors in

the scenes which include Maria with the buckets, and later with Maria and the dog hauling the wood.

Cool, bluish tones pervade in conveying the cold winter weather, the snow and ice, and most dramatically, Helga's final walk to her death, first along the line of trees, then to the barren landscape of the ice (Fig. 42), and finally the riverbank.

4.3.3.2 Framing

As mentioned above, camera framing is used in such a way as to accentuate elements of mise en scène such as architectural features as well as complementing figure behaviour. The standard set-up of the imposing fireplace at the villa uses a framing which positions the fireplace as an anchor from which any number of paths can be traversed. The angular lines guide the eye further back, suggesting great depth and the framing also exploits the various stairways which are configured in a dynamic pattern of diagonal, vertical, and horizontal planes.

The farmhouse's long table with the door at the back also encourages great depth, and is usually framed with the camera positioned near the Alte Rog's bedroom door, which allows for an elongated view. The same Teufelsacker set-up is repeatedly used in conjunction with every important character with the exceptions of Peter and Lellewel. The extreme long shot emphasises the small, isolated building in relation to the vast wintry domain of the flat, empty field. Its importance as the film's chief force of motivation appears quite insignificant when surrounded by the seemingly endless expanse of natural scenery. The explosion of the Teufelsacker in Act 6 uses this framing, and is also framed in a long shot and close-up.

There are many facial medium close-ups, which are almost always framed with a mask. The masks take the form of a soft oval, particularly when framing one to two characters, and these function as an emphasising mechanism. *Der brennende Acker* makes frequent use of

masks and irises which are often used when characters are deep in thought, or in the process of making important decisions, such as the shot of Helga in front of the Teufelsacker. They also function to portray a character unconscious of his surroundings, which is used effectively to convey Johannes's mental state when sitting at the conference table immersed in his own thoughts.

A selection of the more significant masks includes Gerda visualising the arrival of Lellewel through a window covered with frost, seen as a masked arch as two horses and a carriage approach. Frost on the farmhouse window also functions as a mask, both as the farm labourers peer inside (Fig. 93), and later as Johannes stands outdoors looking in at the assembled group (Fig. 94). There is a circular mask of Johannes urging the driver to hurry as his father is dying. In Act 3, there is a circular mask of Maria with the dog, and as she raises her right hand to shade her face from the sun. Circular masks are used in two instances to connect and thus emphasise the conflict between Helga and Gerda. After seeing Johannes and Gerda riding together from the upstairs window, Helga walks out of her circular mask to the left of the screen. The situation is later reversed after Johannes declares his love for Helga. When the Count and Johannes walk up the stairs, Gerda walks completely out of her circular mask and leaves stage left.

There are four irises in the film: three irises-in and one iris-out, and they appear to function in somewhat different ways. The iris is used to introduce a new character, as in the beginning of Act 2 in which Lellewel is sitting in front of the fireplace. The iris-in opens to include the butler and Count who come to greet him. At the end of Act 2, Lellewel stands with his left hand on the fireplace. Here the iris-out isolates him as a solitary figure. The scene with Peter and the salesman sitting at the table drinking and conducting a sales transaction is introduced with an iris-in. The most effective of the four in enhancing character development is the iris-in on Johannes in Act 6 as he appears

stands on the stairs deep in thought, at which point the iris opens to reveal the throng of investors who immediately encircle him.

Mobile framing is used four times; the camera was mounted on a form of transport and was used exclusively to film various characters also being transported. In three instances the mobile camera films horses and carriages, one situation involves riders on horseback, and these four examples of camera mobility are scattered rather evenly throughout the film. The first example is in Act 1 with the arrival of Johannes on horse-drawn transport to visit his dying father. In Act 3 the camera was mounted on a moving wagon directly in front of Gerda and Johannes who ride horses side by side. The third instance takes place in Act 5 during which the wagon driver discovers Helga's body. In the final example in Act 6, the investors riding in their carriages are filmed in two different directions. In the first shot, the camera is mounted in the front as the carriages approach the camera head-on, and in the second and third shots, the camera has been mounted on a trolley which runs parallel to the carriages as the investors discover the burning of the Teufelsacker. This is the only use of a tracking shot in the film.

4.3.3.3 Shot Duration

Der brennende Acker contains notable long takes and it could in general be considered slowly paced, to which much of its acknowledged poetic value can be attributed. The insistent parallelism in the narrative creates both tension and the quickened pace commonly equated with editing, which belies the actual average shot length. Particularly significant long takes have been mentioned above in conjunction with figure behaviour.

4.3.4 Editing

The parallelism in the film is achieved through constant cross-cutting which intersperses shots of the farmhouse and its inhabitants

with those of the villa. An example occurs in Act 5 when Helga learns from Johannes that he has never loved her; the scene which follows takes place in front of the farmhouse stove as Peter learns from Maria that she can never love him. An additional function of this parallelism is the varying rhythm and tempo found at the end of Act 4, with the juxtaposition of Helga's sale to Peter Rog and Johanne's agreement with the investors. For example, the pace quickens in Act 6 quite substantially due to the cross-cutting which occurs during the key scene of the explosion. The viewer's suspense is prolonged as those in the farmhouse recite the Lord's Prayer, juxtaposed by the anticipated explosion of the Teufelsacker caused by Gerda.

Eyeline-match editing is used very successfully in this film, and quite subtle exchanges are achieved. One example is the very subtle eyeline-match from Peter to Johannes after Maria blocks Johannes's entrance into the farmhouse. Another is the exchange between Gerda, Helga, and Lellewel in front of the fireplace in Act 2. A use of the sightline functioning symbolically is found in the farmhouse; the labourers sit down to eat and turn in unison to look at Johannes's empty bowl which indicates his absence from the table, and then all bow their heads in disappointment.

Point-of-view editing is found quite often in the film, and several are motivated by the single event of Johannes and Gerda riding together. There is a point-of-view shot from Peter and the salesman's view out the window, and a point-of-view high-angle shot from the upper window as Helga observes their return. There is, however, no point-of-view shot from the vantage point of the farm-maids with the bags of feathers. Two imaginary point-of-view shots occur in the film: when Gerda looks out the frosty window and 'sees' the inevitable arrival of Lellewel, and later when Johannes stands in his study and looks out the window at the Teufelsacker and 'sees' a huge petroleum plant. This is a foreshadowing of the oil-drilling complex to come, albeit a much more modest one in reality. There is no point-of-view shot when Gerda stands

on the steps and sees Johannes and Helga together, but rather the same set-up of the fireplace that was seen in the prior shot. There is, however, a point-of-view shot when the Count and Gerda see them together.

There are a number of cases of discontinuity editing in *Der brennende Acker* which violate screen direction. Inconsistent sightline matches occur on two occasions; firstly, when Gerda looks at the Count, Helga, and Johannes at the end of Act 3. There is a correct match when the Count and Gerda see them together, but Gerda alone on the steps looks too far stage left at the Count, Helga, and Johannes. Additionally, when Gerda and Lellewel are alone in front of the fireplace, her eyeline match is too low when responding to his request for an answer about marriage. Discontinuity editing occurs when Johannes learns of Helga's sale to Peter. Helga's profile is to the left, rather than to the right which would favour the rules of continuity editing. There is also the rather startling instance of the violation of screen direction when Gerda is riding and meets Johannes. Johannes stands to her right (Fig. 112), but the medium shot of her on horseback shows her facing left (Fig. 113). When she concludes their chat and rides away, Johannes is again to her right. Similarly, when Maria is walking in the woods with the dog hauling wood, Maria sees Gerda and Johannes riding towards her. The long shot shows the dog on Maria's right (Fig. 114), but the *plan américain* has the dog on her left (Fig. 115). As she arrives back at the farm, the dog is again to her right, and although a notable instance of discontinuity, screen direction remains consistent throughout this scene.

The axis of action is crossed, however, on a further three occasions. When the wagon bearing Helga's body arrives, Maria drops the pile of wood while facing stage left, and then appears in the medium shot from the left side of the wagon. This crossing of the 180° line also occurs when Peter chases out the inquisitive farm labourers at the end of Act 5. A final instance of discontinuity editing is found at the end of the film when Maria arrives at the tree from the left to the right of the

screen and sees Johannes at the riverbank (Fig. 116). The shot which follows shows her approaching Johannes from the right to the left, thus crossing the axis of action (Fig. 117) and creating a fragmented orientation of space.

Notes to *Der brennende Acker*

[1] For a thorough discussion of the film's restoration, see Helmut Regel, '*Der brennende Acker*: Die Rekonstruktion', *epd Film*, Frankfurt a.M., February 1994.
[2] See *Deulig-Scala Nachrichten*, Berlin, Nr. 2, 1922.
[3] Some earlier versions have Rudenberg, rather than Rudenburg.
[4] Numerous accounts and reviews have stated that Gerda's act of revenge is also suicidal, and that she dies in the explosion. These accounts are probably due in earlier, incomplete versions which, without the one important shot of her running quickly from the Teufelsacker to the right of the screen, would inevitably lead the viewer to this conclusion. The question remains ambiguous, as Gerda's note to Lellewel states that she wants revenge, and will pay the penalty at the same time.
[5] Acccording to Bordwell, this was a common practice in the early 1920s which was used to fill out a feature-length film. See David Bordwell, *The Films of Carl-Theodor Dreyer*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, pp. 28-34.
[6] The viewed version contains a dialogue intertitle in which Helga calls the older maid by the name 'Maria', but no reference to this is found in the literature.

5. Conclusion

Within the general framework of the early Weimar cinema and the earlier and contemporaneous films produced by the Swedish school, a comparative analysis has been made as to the identification of the salient themes, formal structures, and stylistic devices and systems present in the films of F.W. Murnau and those of the Swedish silent cinema. This line of inquiry has been motivated by specific affirmations in the critical literature as to shared predilections and the presence of affinities with Swedish cinema, and necessarily involves analysis placed within a historical context, with attention given to differing national and temporal styles. In evaluating assertions of affinity as to shared stylistic expressivity, innovative technical expertise, and artistic purpose and achievement, a systematic analysis of stylistic elements and formal structure has been undertaken in the corpus of films chosen.

In more specific terms, Murnau is normally grouped with directors of the early 1920s such as Fritz Lang, Robert Wiene, Paul Leni, and Lupu Pick, whose work has collectively become known as the German Expressionist cinema. Mention is frequently made, however, that Murnau's early films are found to be in visual terms markedly different from those of other contemporary directors working for both Ufa and other smaller independent studios. Evaluations present in the literature postulate that his sensibilities instead lie closer to those of Swedish directors and that amongst German filmmakers he was a notable exception. He could perhaps be seen as a quite conservative director who was at odds to some extent with the modernist cinema in Germany in the early 1920s, evident in his notable choice of horse and carriages for contemporary time periods of the early 1920s. Specific mention has repeatedly been made as to his film sensibility, themes, and treatment of subject matter, particularly in regards to elements of mise en scène and his shot autonomy with restrained use of editing practices.

Although the early films of Murnau were often based on sources which were perhaps quite middle-brow, he is well-known for the numerous films based on recognised classics of literature, such *Der Januskopf*, *Tartüff*, and *Faust*. This selection was quite in keeping with both the German and Swedish film industries' dedication to quality productions based on irrefutable sources. Murnau was not responsible for writing his own scripts, and his early films were adapted from original sources or created as independent works by a number of scriptwriters who also collaborated with other directors in Berlin. Hans Janowitz who was the co-writer of *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* wrote the screenplay for Murnau's *Der Januskopf* and *Marizza, genannt die Schmugglermadonna*. Rudolf Schneider-Schelde wrote Murnau's *Abend-Nacht-Morgen* as well as Arthur Robison's *Schatten*, and Carl Mayer, the writer with whom Murnau is most closely associated with seven films together in Germany and America, also wrote the Expressionist films *Genuine*, *Torgus* and co-wrote *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, and created the stories for the *Kammerspiel* films *Scherben*, *Hintertreppe*, and *Sylvester*. These close partnerships indicate that Murnau's position was not that of an isolated figure amongst other German directors, as his early films in particular indicate.

In general, German films display pictorial composition, the long take and slower editing, and special effects which address and reveal the subjectivity of characters, with supernatural themes such as memory, dreams, and visions. Murnau's films such as *Der Januskopf* and *Nosferatu* with their themes of the supernatural and Gothic horror, as well as *Satanas* with its embedded fantasy stories, have contributed to his reputed affinities with German Expressionism. This characterisation does, however, appear incorrect when one analyses the stylistic devices evident in his early films. Films by the Swedish directors, on the other hand, display traits characteristically considered to be the pervasive use of landscape, the natural, unaffected style of acting, the material drawn from literature, and technological expertise and photographic excellence.

Qualities often ascribed to the Swedish silent cinema are those of lyricism, genuineness, authenticity, and a sense of sincerity, even melancholy. Certainly these are quite intangible qualities, therefore, which stylistic elements do the films actually display?

Presented in this research is an analysis of thematic concerns and the identification and function of both formal and stylistic issues of spatial and temporal articulation, lighting, and various cinematic devices. An assessment of Murnau's films and those of the Swedish silent cinema affords the opportunity to study their unique interpretations and cinematic articulations of attitudes to nature and to civilisation, specifically the manner in which human emotion is reflected in the natural world and how nature affects human recourse and destiny. It is indeed the fact of Murnau's use of location shooting during a period when the majority of artistic films in Germany were created in the studio which has given rise to his description as a landscape director. Murnau's biographical legend would undoubtedly be different, however, if his entire body of early films were currently extant, due to the fact that of his seventeen films made in Germany, ten were shot entirely in the studio. It would therefore appear that his reputation for having an affinity with landscape would rest on the five sequential films which he made from 1921 to 1923 displaying an extensive use of exterior shooting. Of these five films, the latter film *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* uses the landscape of the Dalmatian coast in quite an ordinary manner, with landscapes functioning as nothing other than backdrops. It is in the earlier four, particularly in *Nosferatu* and the peasant dramas *Der brennende Acker* and *Die Austreibung*, that correlations with Swedish sensibilities can be found. It is indeed the currently non-extant status of *Die Austreibung*, filmed on location in the Riesengebirge, which is particularly regrettable. Natural forces and landscape comment on characters' emotions through heightened metaphorical meaning as opposed to the non-referential function present in the majority of German films. A particular example of

landscape reflecting turbulence in the mind is present in Klercker's *Fyrvaktarens dotter*, a scene that displays numerous similarities with Börne's jealous rage in *Der Gang in die Nacht*; ironically, this earlier film is not amongst the five and it was shot primarily in the studio, with the addition of scenes shot on location on Sylt.

Indeed, naturalism is seen to be an important causal scheme in the Swedish cinema, with its emphasis on character development and psychology and specifically characters' struggles with their environment and conscience. It is particularly in this emphasis on subjectivity rather than objectivity, in the marked prominence given to introspection, that notable correlations in Murnau's approach are found with those of the Swedish cinema; this can additionally be found is the characters' acknowledgement of the viewer in *Der Gang in die Nacht*, *Schloß Vogelöd*, and most overtly in *Tartüff*, with this use of direct address more prominent in Swedish films than in German. Although he has stated his desire to tell stories visually, an approach to the narrative which encourages overt rather than inward communication, numerous long takes which linger on the contemplative individual are present amidst a prevalence of intertitles in Murnau's films, particularly in those made prior to *Der letzte Mann*. Murnau also followed the German fondness for frame stories and embedded narratives in his use of these devices in *Satanas*, *Phantom*, and *Tartüff* which had no correlation in Sweden, although he did incorporate the flashback in quite a standard manner in keeping with Swedish predilections. Contrary to Murnau's avowed philosophy to tell stories visually without reliance on intertitles which he put into practice in *Der letzte Mann*, his films display the quite typical German use of expository titles with a weighted emphasis on dialogue titles. He did state publicly, however, his disdain for his early directorial efforts, perhaps in hindsight more than is warranted, although any thorough assessment will be difficult as long as so many of his early works remain non-extant.

Narrative development in the films of Murnau is of lesser importance when compared with the elements of mise en scène; his interests clearly lay in the luminosity of the photographed pro-filmic event. One finds in particular his choice of the pictorial use of light to enhance plasticity of figures and objects, with less regard for realistic motivation. Although lighting choices include naturalistic images of sunlight shining through trees, the lighting qualities captured in Murnau's films are rendered in a manner more closely aligned with *Häxan*, directed by the Dane Benjamin Christensen for Svensk Filmindustri. Murnau certainly made less frequent use of high-key lighting than the Swedish directors, with lighting choices being more stylised and pronounced with the obscure naturalism more closely found in Gerlach and Grune's films. The lack of restraint shown in numerous aspects of *Häxan* being set aside, the attention directed to analogous uses of light to create chiaroscuro exhibits a closer similarity to Murnau's plasticity of figures than is seen with the Swedish directors. Swedish light is predominantly limpid and lucid, lighting qualities rarely found in Murnau's films which display much more contrast and low-key lighting; Sjöström's *Klostret i Sendomir*, however, exhibits both lighting and figure behaviour in keeping with Murnau's use of these devices.

In general, figure behaviour in Murnau's films is much more stylised than Swedish practices, as displayed, for example, in the shot in *Der brennende Acker* in which Johannes's brother and the farm labourers stare at his empty bowl. Murnau's films demonstrate frontality similar to that of the Swedish cinema, but with more prominent gestures and greater stylisation in figure behaviour in a manner more theatrical and mannered, certainly less natural, than is consistently found in the Swedish silent cinema. Spatial articulation which privileges compositional symmetry is evident in these directors' work, with Murnau's preference for diagonal composition being decidedly more salient. Murnau's later stylistic developments privilege foregrounds, and with it a discernible increase in the use of

foreshortening not found in his earlier films. The directorial choices which are evident regarding staging in depth with the long take are similar, and the frequent appearance of long takes in Murnau's work certainly contributes to his films bearing the stylistic attributes of an earlier style. Nonetheless, vast visual differences are certainly apparent, most noticeably again in Murnau's insistence on stylisation. His preference for diagonal staging in many respects finds a correlation with that of Stiller, and while his stated admiration for Stiller's work has been documented in the literature, Murnau shows a preference for slower editing, specifically during climatic passages in which Stiller demonstrates greater dynamism and movement. The effectiveness of intrusion into the frame in strengthening action through creating tension and anxiety in the spectator occurs periodically in the Swedish cinema, as in *Terje Vigen* (Fig. 101) and *Karin Ingmarsdotter* (Fig. 102), and is a salient feature found in many of Murnau's films, including *Der Gang in die Nacht* (Fig. 98), *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs* (Fig. 99), *Tartüff*, and *Tabu*.

It does appear, however, that upon close analysis Murnau's sensibilities regarding filmmaking bear a closer resemblance, not to the Swedish cinema of Sjöström, Stiller, and Klercker, but to Karl Grune's *Die Straße* from 1921. Many of the elements found throughout Murnau's body of work are present in this one film. A subtle variant on the frame story is used as is the opening montage of city images and the alluring young girl (Fig. 86) which could certainly be the direct inspiration for Murnau's well-known montage sequence of the city's attractions in *Sunrise*; in both *Die Straße* and *Sunrise* this device functions as a visual pastiche which embodies the male protagonists' repressed desires and longings for an alternative to the monotony of their domestic lives. In addition, figures in Grune's film are articulated with light and shadow with the marked use of silhouetting. The constructed studio sets are certainly in keeping with similar sets used, for example, in *Phantom*, and the husband's subjective point-of-view shot of the spinning room

(Fig. 96) followed by his silhouette in front of the twirling room (Fig. 97) is again strikingly similar to the comparable scenes in *Phantom* (Fig. 95) and particularly *Der letzte Mann*. The husband's point-of-view shot of the superimposed image of his wife which retreats inside his wedding ring creates a portrait as with Hutter's portrait of Ellen in *Nosferatu*, and Grune's victim with the thinning hair behaves in a similar fashion to that of 'The Frightened Gentleman' in Murnau's *Schloß Vogelöd*. The lighting qualities present throughout are quite consistent with Murnau's practices, and therefore it would certainly seem that when one considers Murnau's numerous studio films, his predilections bear a remarkable resemblance to those of Karl Grune in *Die Straße*.

The subjects involved in this research open up many areas for further study. One such direction is the effect of differing national traditions and cultural environments such as the visual arts, literature, and even music on the artist's creation in his respective medium. Questions of interdisciplinary influences such as literature and painting as well as those concerning literary adaptation and visualisation of literary sources are inquiries which lie at the centre of classical source analysis. It was not only acclaimed plays which were considered apt sources for silent film adaptations, but certain original literary sources found in novels and novellas, as well as poems and verse in the cases of *Terje Vigen* and *Sången om den eldröda blomman*, contain narrative structures and episodic developments which are intrinsically more cinematic than others.

Intertextual relations are of particular interest in studies of silent film in that the desire to increase the prestige surrounding the cinema resulted in a substantial number of sources which were considered suitable being appropriated from the theatre and visual arts. John W Brunius's films for Skandia include numerous compositional references to paintings, which reflect Skandia's policy at that time to improve the status of film through affiliation with the fine arts. Direct citations are evident in, for example, Brunius's *Synnöve Solbakken* of the painting

Haugianerna by Adolf Tidemand which in turn encouraged the directorial choice of a tableau composition. Stiller's *Herr Arnes pengar* for Svensk Filmindustri replicates several striking compositions in key scenes from Alfred Edelfelt's drawings which were used to illustrate the 1905 edition of Selma Lagerlöf's novella, and repeated references in the critical literature are made to an affinity of Murnau's pictorial compositions with those of Arnold Böcklin. Focussed, in-depth studies which draw on the pictorial allusions to and appropriations of specific paintings suggested in Luciano Berriatúa's comprehensive two-volume set on Murnau would be rewarding, as would an inverse examination in which motifs in the visual arts are inspired by cinematic images.

Interdisciplinary research in regards to the representation of nature and the natural world certainly offers prospects for further inquiry. With regards to film research, value can be found in further understanding of the criteria involved in distinguishing nature and landscape as an agent which more fully develops characterisation or furthers the narrative. In developing a discussion of nature, a determination as to the salient aspects of stylistic analysis could also be grounds for further study, particularly in line with Kristin Thompson's work in the area of stylistic expressivity.

It can be concluded after careful viewing of the filmic texts for contextualisation, comparison, and contrast that these directors were strongly individualist in the sense of what is today considered the *auteur* tradition, and yet similar sensibilities are apparent within narrowly defined realms. It is difficult, however, to allow for strong congruence regarding stylistic choices. Certainly both Murnau and the Swedish directors exhibit a generally shared predisposition for landscape, stylistic expressivity, and innovative technical expertise, although if a specific case is to be made for any similitude, it is perhaps the heightened significance given to characters' self-examination and inner struggles invariably rendered through the prevalence of solitary characters who are examined, even scrutinized, through the use of the

lingering long take. That the use of this device is also a salient characteristic of the *Kammerspielfilm* is not surprising, although Murnau's narrative lines in subsequent films following *Der letzte Mann* show surprisingly little of the intense psychological observation visible in *Der Gang in die Nacht* and *Der brennende Acker*. It has been well-established that F.W. Murnau is regarded as an enigma, nevertheless, in this research the author has sought to provide findings which not only serve to illuminate stylistic devices and systems within Murnau's early extant and non-extant films, but also shed new light on the early Swedish cinema.

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Fig. 1. *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru*, Sjöström, 1918

Fig. 2. *Ingeborg Holm*, Sjöström, 1913

Fig. 3. *Sången om den eldröda Blomman*, Stiller, 1919

Fig. 4. *Ingmarssönerna*, Sjöström, 1919

Fig. 5. *Ingmarssönerna*, Sjöström, 1919

Fig. 6. *Fången på Karlstens fästning*, Klercker, 1916

Fig. 7. *Dunungen*, Hedqvist, 1919

Fig. 8. *Dunungen*, Hedqvist, 1919

Fig. 9. *Dornröschen*, Leni, 1917

Fig. 10. *Orlacs Hände*, Wiene, 1924

Fig. 11. *Raskolnikow*, Wiene, 1923

Fig. 12. *Siegfried*, Lang, 1923

Fig. 13. *Scherben*, Pick, 1921

Fig. 14. *Hintertreppe*, Jessner and Leni, 1921

Fig. 15. *Der letzte Mann*, Murnau, 1924

Fig. 16. *Die Bergkatze*, Lubitsch, 1921

Fig. 17. *Im Kampf mit dem Berg*, Fanck, 1921

Fig. 18. *Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs*, Fanck, 1919/20

Fig. 19. *Geheimnisse einer Seele*, Pabst, 1926

Fig. 20. *Schloß Vogelöd*, Murnau, 1921

Fig. 21. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 22. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

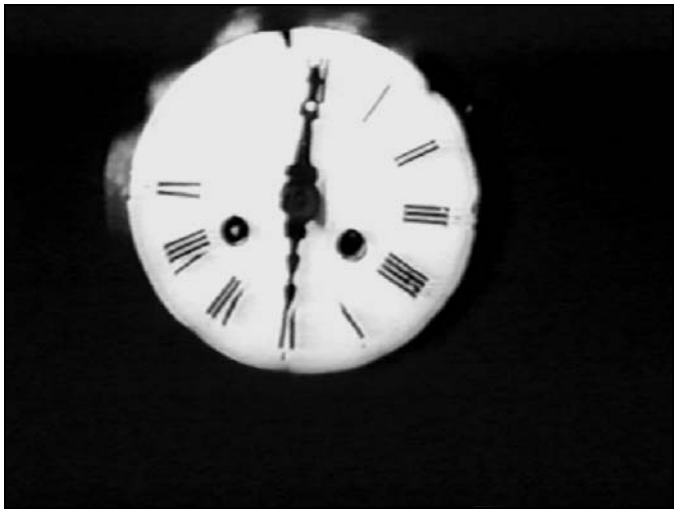

Fig. 23. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

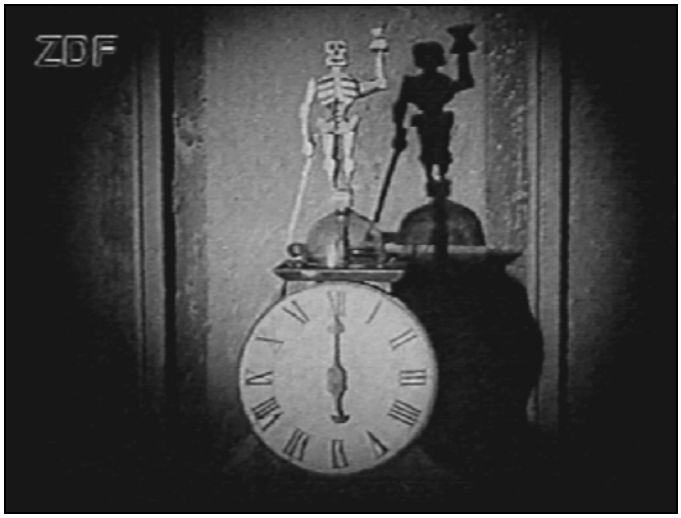

Fig. 24. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

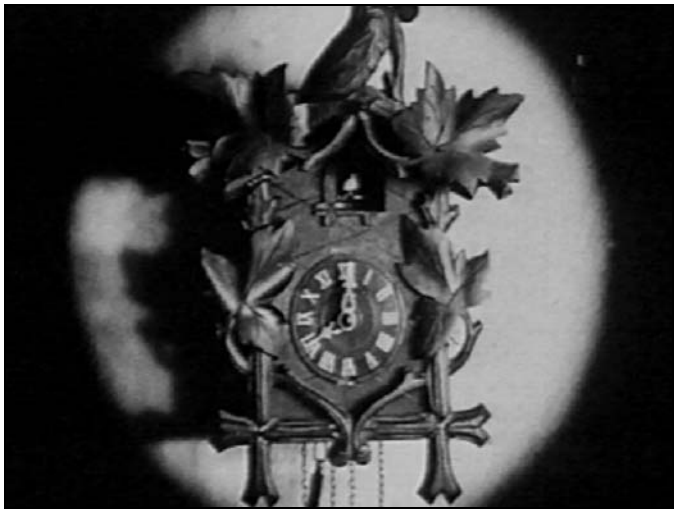

Fig. 25. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 26. *Synnöve Solbakken*, Brunius, 1919

Fig. 27. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

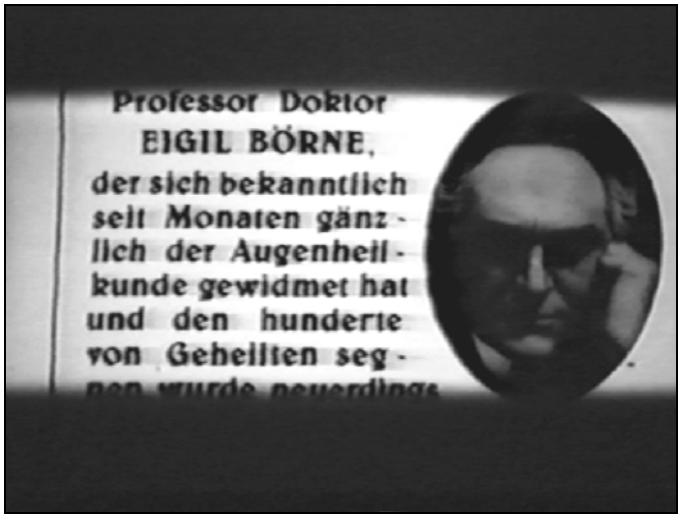

Fig. 28. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

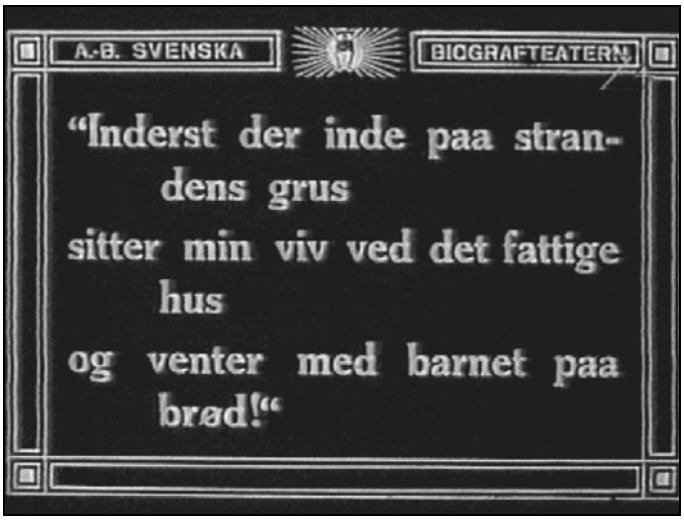

Fig. 29. *Terje Vigen*, Sjöström, 1917

Fig. 30. *Karin Ingmarsdotter*, Sjöström, 1920

Fig. 31. *Schloß Vogelöd*, Murnau, 1921

Fig. 32. *Dornröschen*, Leni, 1917

Fig. 33. *Ingmarssönerna*, Sjöström, 1919

Fig. 34. *Synnöve Solbakken*, Brunius, 1919

Fig. 35. *Wilhelm Tell*, Dworsky, 1923

Fig. 36. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

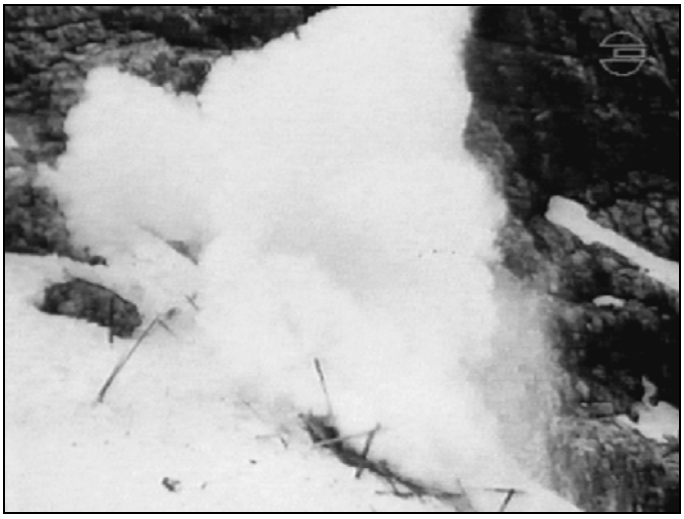

Fig. 37. *Die Geier-Wally*, Dupont, 1921

Fig. 38. *Terje Vigen*, Sjöström, 1917

Fig. 39. *Fyrvaktarensdotter*, Klercker, 1918

Fig. 40. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 41. *Johan*, Stiller, 1921

Fig. 42. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 43. *Im Kampf mit dem Berg*, Fanck, 1921

Fig. 44. *Wilhelm Tell*, Dworsky, 1923

Fig. 45. *Der Farmer aus Texas*, May, 1925

Fig. 46. *Schloß Vogelöd*, Murnau, 1921

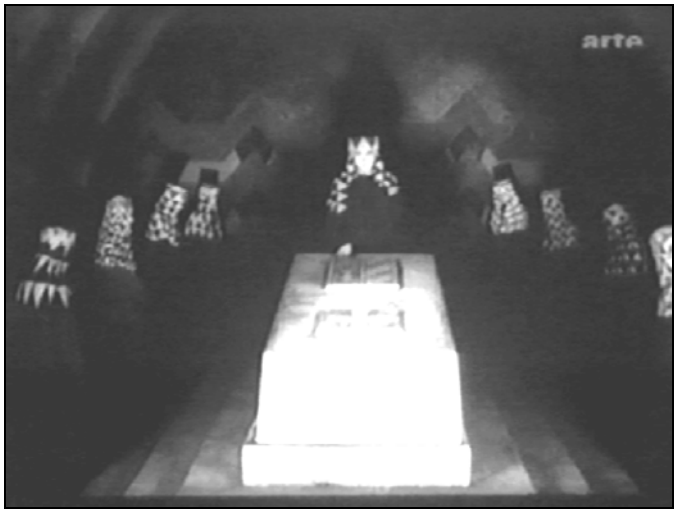

Fig. 47. *Kriemhilds Rache*, Lang, 1923

Fig. 48. *Der ewige Zweifel*, Oswald, 1919

Fig. 49. *Der ewige Zweifel*, Oswald, 1919

Fig. 50. *Scherben*, Pick, 1921

Fig. 51. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 52. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 53. *Dunungen*, Hedqvist, 1919

Fig. 54. *Der letzte Mann*, Murnau, 1924

Fig. 55. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 56. *Johan*, Stiller, 1921

Fig. 57. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

58. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig.59. *Der Golem*, Wegener and Boese, 1920

Fig. 60. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 61. *Fången på Karlstens fästning*, Klercker, 1916

Fig. 62. *Hintertreppe*, Jessner and Leni, 1921

Fig. 63. *Der letzte Mann*, Murnau, 1924

Fig. 64. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 65. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 66. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 67. *Häxan*, Christensen, 1922

Fig. 68. *Prästänkan*, Dreyer, 1920

Fig. 69. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 70. *Phantom*, Murnau, 1922

Fig. 71. *Körkarlen*, Sjöström, 1920

Fig. 72. *Schloß Vogelöd*, Murnau, 1921

Fig. 73. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 74. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 75. *Orlacs Hände*, Wiene, 1924

Fig. 76. *Anders als die andern*, Oswald, 1919

Fig. 77. *Eld ombord*, Sjöström, 1923

Fig. 78. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 79. *Herr Arnes pengar*, Stiller, 1919

Fig. 80. *Mellan liv och död*, Klercker, 1917

Fig. 81. *Häxan*, Christensen, 1922

Fig. 82. *Siegfried*, Lang, 1923

Fig. 83. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 84. *Körkarlen*, Sjöström, 1920

Fig. 85. *Die Bergkatze*, Lubitsch, 1921

Fig. 86. *Die Straße*, Grune, 1923

Fig. 87. *Fången på Karlstens fästning*, Klercker, 1916

Fig. 88. *Havsgamar*, Sjöström, 1916

Fig. 89. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 90. *Kärleken segrar*, Klercker, 1916

Fig. 91. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 92. *Klostret i Sendomir*, Sjöström, 1920

Fig. 93. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 94. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 95. *Phantom*, Murnau, 1922

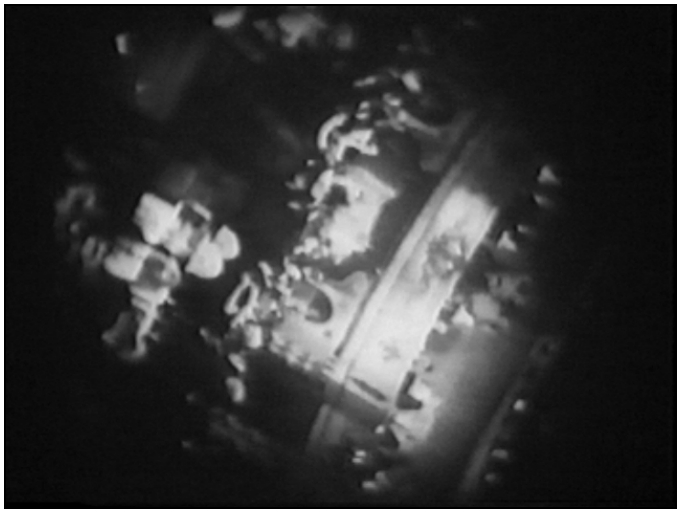

Fig. 96. *Die Straße*, Grune, 1923

Fig. 97. *Die Straße*, Grune, 1923

Fig. 98. *Der Gang in die Nacht*, Murnau, 1920

Fig. 99. *Die Finanzen des Großherzogs*, Murnau, 1922

Fig. 100. *Orlacs Hände*, Wiene, 1924

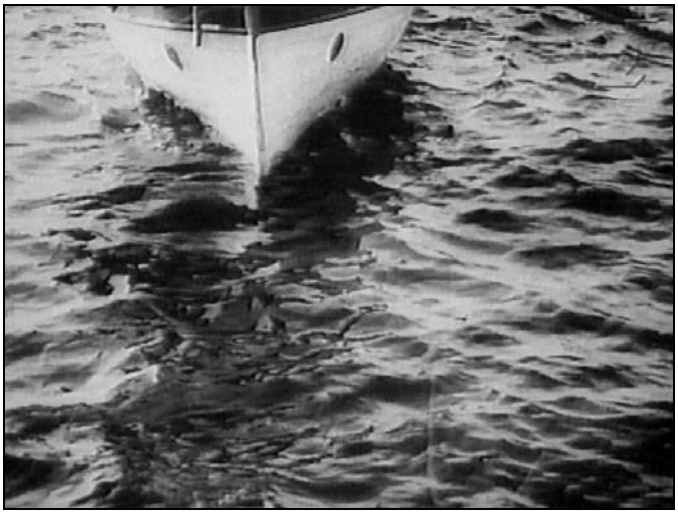

Fig. 101. *Terje Vigen*, Sjöström, 1917

Fig.102. *Karin Ingmarsdotter*, Sjöström, 1920

Fig. 103. *Siegfried*, Lang, 1923

Fig. 104. *Kärleken segrar*, Klercker, 1916

Fig. 105. *Mysteriet natten till den 25:e*, Klercker, 1917

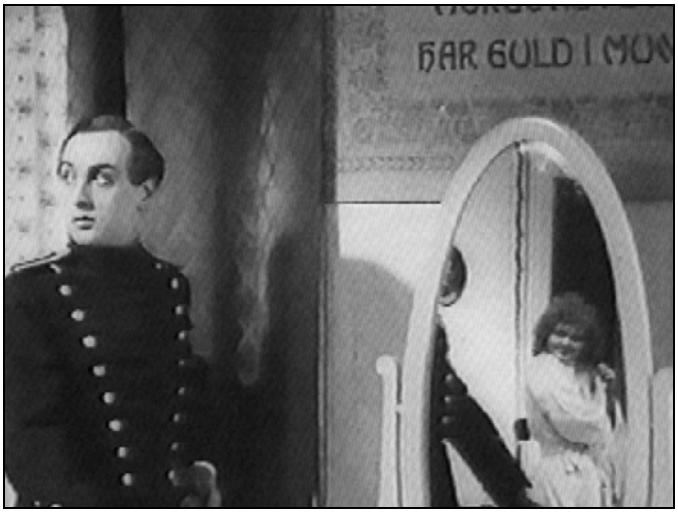

Fig. 106. *Gyurkovicsarna*, Brunius, 1920

Fig. 107. *Vem dömer?*, Sjöström, 1922

Fig. 108. *Ingmarssönerna*, Sjöström, 1919

Fig. 109. *Madame Dubarry*, Lubitsch, 1919

Fig. 110. *Nosferatu*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 111. *Eld ombord*, Sjöström, 1923

Fig. 112. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 113. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 114. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 115. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 116. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

Fig. 117. *Der brennende Acker*, Murnau, 1921/22

SANDRA WALKER

EDUCATION

2006	Ph.D. in History of Art, University of Zürich, Switzerland Dissertation is an investigation of Swedish-German film relations, comprised of formal and stylistic textual analyses of selected Swedish and German films, 1912-1926
1997	Proficiency examination in Latin, both oral and written, University of Zürich, Switzerland
1990	Master of Arts in Art, History of Art Master's Thesis on Developments in Weimar Cinema (Grade: 'A' 99/100), San Diego State University, California, USA
1986	Bachelor of Arts in Art Emphasis: History of Art/French San Diego State University, California, USA

EMPLOYMENT

From Feb 2007	Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim Research Assistant, History of Art department (Kunsthistorie). Reception of art exhibitions in the Norwegian press from 1890-1914.
Oct 2005	Örebro University, Örebro, Sweden Guest Lecturer. Department of Cinema Studies. Lecture on film aesthetics included a presentation of various stylistic devices in German and Swedish silent cinema. Emphasis was placed on identification of devices and a determination as to the manner in which the device functions in the film scene.
1999 to 2005	Walker Interactive Communication Systems Pedagogic Developer. Engaged in pedagogic development in conjunction with the co-design of a real-time multimedia educational system which uses PC's and webcams. For distance and in-class use, the system enables teachers and students to interact in real-time via the Internet using video, audio, application sharing, whiteboards, chat, and PC remote control.
1998 to 2002	Film på Gotland, Visby, Sweden Film Translator. Translated Swedish film and created English subtitles for the organisation Film på Gotland. Translation work also involved numerous documents from Swedish to English for the Baltic Art Center and the Municipality of Gotland.

US and Swedish citizenship with Norwegian residency and work permit.